

# Modern Philology

VOL. II.

June, 1904.

No. 1.

## THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME.

### I.

THE discovery of a new epic in the *Cycle de Guillaume* could hardly fail to be received with astonishment, and, in some cases, with incredulity. It must have struck many like the discovery of a new planet in a system all of whose members were supposed long since to have been known and catalogued. It will indeed be necessary now to change the chart and to indicate upon it the presence of a strange and peculiar orb.

The circumstances connected with the discovery and publication of the *Chanson de Guillaume* are mysterious and as yet unexplained. No one, apparently, had ever heard of the existence in England or elsewhere of such a poem, nor had any catalogue, as far as I know, ever shown such a title until the sale of the library of the late Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, in May, 1901.<sup>1</sup> The catalogue announcing this sale seems not to have been widely circulated, and no one apparently noticed the title in question until the fortunate purchaser published the MS in June, 1903.<sup>2</sup> Even then several months appear to have passed before any scholars realized what the publication meant. In common with others I saw the announcement of the publication of such a book, but did not think that it could be a matter of any consequence until friends wrote me from Paris of the priceless

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 395, 597, 598.

<sup>2</sup> *La Chançon de Willame*, printed at the Chiswick Press, in an edition limited to two hundred copies.

discovery. Finally, thanks doubtless to the generosity of the unknown owner of the MS, a copy was sent me, arriving in December last. I take this opportunity to thank publicly my unknown benefactor. The owner of the MS conceals his identity with unprecedented modesty. He deserves richly the thanks of Romance scholars the world over for so promptly and excellently printing this first edition. The volume is indeed beautifully printed, in type almost as perfect as the writing of the MS itself, and with red initial letters at the beginning of the *laissez*. Very wisely, no attempt was made to edit the text; hence we enjoy the rare privilege of possessing an exact copy of an invaluable original.

To M. Paul Meyer belongs the honor—certainly not the least in his distinguished career—of having written the first notice and analysis of the newly discovered epic.<sup>1</sup> In the following pages a liberal use will be made of this article of M. Meyer.

The *Chançon de Willame* is a Norman French copy of a poem belonging, as its name indicates, to the *Cycle de Guillaume*. The poem is in assonance, and numbers 3,553 lines. The MS appears to be complete,<sup>2</sup> is in an English hand, and was written, according to M. Meyer, about the middle of the thirteenth century. It has evidently remained in England ever since, probably in obscure private libraries, so that it has had no effect on the subsequent development of the legend in France, where there once existed, as we shall see, a poem of the same name, the prototype of the present song. The redaction of the poem, in the opinion of M. Meyer, goes back to the first half of the twelfth century. While this date may prove to be correct, we shall see that the epic preserves references to a stage of the legend which belongs to the eleventh century. The versification and the language of the poem, especially of the first eighteen hundred lines, are in a regrettable condition. A large number of lines have too many or too few syllables; the transition from one assonance to another

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 597-618.

<sup>2</sup> M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 598, is of the opinion that the MS is incomplete at the end. It seems to me, on the contrary, complete. The ending, to be sure, is somewhat abrupt, but the story has all been told. The evidence, such as it is, of the *Willchalm* goes to indicate a somewhat abrupt close. One indication that the poem is drawing to an end is the recurrence, after a long interruption, of the peculiar refrain which terminates a large number of the *laissez* in the first twenty-three hundred lines (vide l. 3436 to close).

occurs not infrequently in the middle of a sentence. The existence of these irregularities and the corruption of the language indicate that the copyist was either incapable of appreciating correctness, or performed his task with criminal indifference. One of the most peculiar things in this peculiar poem is the sort of refrain which terminates many of the *laissez* in that part of the poem which precedes the entry of the hero into Orange, vs. 2326, and which occurs only with extreme rareness thereafter.<sup>1</sup> This refrain is much more frequent in the first thirteen hundred lines than in the succeeding one thousand. A partial explanation for the irregular and rapidly changing assonance, especially in the first eighteen hundred lines, is to be found in the condensation which this part of the poem has undergone. In the first part of the poem the *remanieurs* seem to be hurrying over the events, as if in haste to arrive at scenes of greater interest, or as if they felt ill at ease among passages whose allusions and bearings they did not grasp. This remark applies above all to the first thirteen hundred lines, where the narration is so lacking in consecutiveness and reasonableness that we are at times unable to comprehend. The geography of these lines is fantastical, and must be carefully examined before it is accepted in any important particular. The vagueness of the topography and the paucity of proper names make one inclined to believe that the originals of these passages were probably copied a number of times in England, and that they lost no small part of their individuality at each copying.<sup>2</sup>

The literary workmanship of the *Chançon de Willame* is rough, but it is the roughness of a primitive monument. The monument, to be sure, has been defaced, but one can still discern the power, simplicity, and directness of the original. Several of the scenes of the poem, even as they stand now, will rank among the celebrated passages of the Old French epic. The range of feeling shown in the *Chançon de Willame* is remarkable,<sup>3</sup> considerably greater than that of the *Roland*, for example. Unlike

<sup>1</sup> This is explainable by the fact that the parts of the poem indicated do not come from the same source.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent mention of *rivage de mer* (32) may be taken to indicate that the public before whom the poem was sung had a feeling for the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Many passages indicate a sense of humor (vide, for instance, ll. 1410-17).

the *Roland*, however, the poem does not present the defeats and victories of princes and armies which represent the fatherland itself.<sup>1</sup> We feel at no time in the narration that France is menaced or betrayed. Nor is the defense of Christianity made one of the leading motifs of the story. The epic is largely feudal, and our interest, in the main, is in the fortunes of a single family of heroes.

One of the most remarkable things about the new poem is the ballad quality of many passages in the first part. Several of these passages are veritable ballads. No other *chanson de geste* shows so clearly the possible relation of the ballad to epic verse. It will be well to cite one passage to illustrate this, giving the text without any effort whatever at amendment. The moment is that when Vivien sends Girart for aid to Guillaume, who is at Barcelona. Nearly all of Vivien's men have been slain; some have abandoned him. He says to Girart:<sup>2</sup>

- Amis Girard, es tu sein del cors?  
 Oil, dist il, et dedenz et defors.  
 Di dunc, Girard, coment te contennent tes armes?  
 625 Par fei, sire, bones sunt et aates,  
 Cum a tel home qui n'ad fait granz batailles,  
 Et, si bosoinz est, qui referat altres.  
 Di dunc, Girard, sentes tu alques ta vertu?  
 Et cil respunt que unques plus fort ne fu.  
 630 Di dunc, Girard, cum se content tun cheval?  
 Tost se laissed, et ben se tient et dreit.  
 Amis Girard, si io te ossasse quere  
 Que par la lune me alasses a Willame!  
 Va si me di a Willame mun uncle  
 635 Si li remembre del champ del Saraguçe,  
 Quant il se combati al paen Alderufe.

Vivien charges Girart to recall to his uncle a number of occasions when he rendered him signal service, and to urge him, by the memory of this service, to come and aid him now in turn.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name France appears less than a score of times.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding scene of the *Covenant Vivien* is found in ll. 833-905, which are vastly inferior to those before us. This scene in the *Storie Nerbonesi* is found in Vol. II, p. 157; it is interesting to note that Vivien, according to this recital (vide p. 156), has recently aided Girart to mount a good horse. Cf. *Aliscans*, ed. ROLIN, ll. 190 ff., which offer a similar passage.

<sup>3</sup> One of these injunctions is quoted by M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 606.



The ballad quality continues throughout these lines. He closes his injunctions with a message to his brother and one to his aunt:

- Sez que dirras a Guiot, mun petit frere?  
 De hui a quinze anz ne deust ceindre espee,  
 680 Mais ore la ceindrat pur secure le fiz sa mere!  
 Aider me vienge en estrange cuntree!  
 Sez que dirras dame Guiberc, ma drue!  
 Si li remembre de la grant nurreture<sup>1</sup>  
 Plus de .xv. anz qu'ele ad vers mei eue.  
 685 Ore gardez pur Deu qu'ele ne seit perdue!  
 Qu'ele m'enveit sun seigneur en aie!  
 Se le ne m'enveit le cunte, d'altre n'ai io ceu.<sup>2</sup>

The poem is almost equally remarkable for the large number of lines that express a proverb or something akin thereto: *Or est tut sage quant ad dormi assez* (l. 115, of one who has been sleeping off drunkenness); *A home mort ne devez pas mentir* (l. 595); [*Ia*] *n'est nul si grant que petit ne fust né* (l. 1464); *Cors as d'enfant et raisun as de ber* (l. 1636, repeated in ll. 1478 and 1976). There are many other lines whose expression is so apt, and whose facility of application to the affairs of life is so great, that they must have been of frequent use among those who heard the epic sung. These lines are of such happy wording that the memory refuses to give them up. Some of the lines just quoted are of this sort. Here is a humble example drawn from the latter part of the poem: A clown-like hero goes into battle armed with a bludgeon, with which he does terrible execution. He finally breaks his bludgeon, the enemy surround him, but he fights with his fists and works such havoc that the pagans cry: *Ore est il pire qu'il ne fu al tinel* (l. 3316). We read of a man who sleeps sprawled out by the hearth in the kitchen: *Tiel gist sur cuille qui ne dort si suef* (l. 2894). Of course, a homely expression like this last must have been current long before the song of William was composed, and must have penetrated into a number of poems.

The discovery of the MS preserves for us, almost in its entirety, the lost *Renoart*, which, in a much less altered form than in

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps needless to say that this word does not mean food.

<sup>2</sup> This line offers an excellent example of the corruption of the text. It should read: *Se le ne m'enveit, d'altre n'ai io cure*, and the last word in the preceding line should be *aïuc*.

*Aliscans*, constitutes the close of the *Chançon de Willame*. The *Renoart* begins with l. 2647, *De la quisine al rei issit un bacheler*, and continues, with only slight interpolations, to the end of the MS, the space of about nine hundred lines. The beginning of the *Renoart* is of course lacking, by the exigencies of its union with sources originally independent. It may be doubted whether the lost beginning counted more than two hundred lines.

The *Chançon de Willame* is an antecedent type of *Aliscans*, but it is not the archetype. It itself is the result of a number of blendings and *remaniements*, the traces of which are perfectly visible to unprejudiced eyes. Indeed, the poem offers in its present form an object-lesson in the fusion of epic fragments, and is the most valuable single monument for a study of the development of the *Cycle de Guillaume*. The poem was made by the blending of several different songs concerning the hero; it unites in one poem his salient exploits in several, and thus deserves the title so well given it in the MS: *La Chançon de Willame*, "The Song of William" *par excellence*. It is to be hoped, by the way, that no one will ever propose to call this epic *Aliscans*—a word which does not occur in the entire poem.

While we are speaking of the name of the new epic, it is interesting to note that we can now see why Wolfram von Eschenbach did not call his poem *Aliscans*. The original which he was translating evidently bore the title *La Chanson de Guillaume*, called familiarly the *Guillaume*, as we say the *Roland*. He remained faithful to the title, and called his translation the *Willehalm*.

Turning now from more general considerations, it is my purpose to set down here some brief notes resulting from my first readings of this remarkable text. The value of first impressions, even if they prove later to be somewhat erroneous, cannot be denied.

When a person familiar with the *Cycle de Guillaume* begins to read for the first time the *Willame*, his feeling is one of surprise and amazement. This feeling, if he happens to have any theories of his own concerning the cycle, gives way to consternation—to consternation so profound as to yield (if at all) only to persistent and resourceful treatment. The story is all so new!

Where are the old landmarks? We seek them in vain. For a while all the theories about *Aliscans*—if this be, indeed, the prototype of *Aliscans*—seem to come tumbling to the ground. After reading about fifteen hundred lines, however, one begins to understand: the poem is, indeed, an early form of what we call *Aliscans*—so early that it does not bear the name *Aliscans*, nor does it even mention the name; but, what is more interesting, the poem recounts twice the hero's expedition to the relief of his nephew! The two versions are there as clear as day, side by side, differing from each other sufficiently for the easy conscience of some copyist or *remanieur* to place them thus without suspecting that they were one and the same story!<sup>1</sup> But let us begin at the beginning of the poem.

The opening scenes of the *chanson* are the ones that make it most difficult to recognize the story. Who are this Tedbald and this Esturmi who meet us on the very first page? We finish the episode, and are still perplexed. We are puzzled, too, at an occasional note of levity in the presence of an impending disaster. As a matter of fact, the opening scenes have nothing to correspond to them in *Aliscans*, which begins at a much later point in the narration. The beginning of *Aliscans* is in fact visibly truncated; the action opens so abruptly that we do not know what has brought on the conflict. The *Willame*, on the other hand, begins farther back in the story, and offers, although in condensed form, some explanation of the events that are to follow. Its opening lines, too, unlike those of *Aliscans*, are cast in the traditional mould of the ancient epics. The more recent poem, *Aliscans*, as will appear later, takes up the story at a point not far from l. 1700 of the *Willame*, and retains little, if anything, of what precedes, beyond some of the last acts of Vivien and his death. In this light the absence of Tedbald and his nephew from the newer poem need occasion no surprise, since the part of the action in which they seem to have played a rôle has been cut off.

The expression, "in which they seem to have played a rôle," is used advisedly, for it may be that the episode in which they appear has strayed in from some other source. As a matter of

<sup>1</sup> The facts, as will appear later, allow another and more complex explanation of this strange duality of action.

fact the episode does not aid in any marked degree the action, save that we see that Vivien was abandoned by some who should have remained with him. His courage is perhaps heightened by comparison with their cowardice. On the whole it is more than likely that these "heroes" belong here, for several reasons. In the first place, their very presence in an episode of such length indicates that they are "original;" in the second place, the last *remanieur*, indifferent and careless as he was, appears to have omitted and—very rarely—to have transposed, but he does not seem to have cared enough about his task to introduce episodes foreign to his sources. Finally, a reference in the *Enfances Vivien* (ll. 3805 ff.) says of Estourmi that later, *en la bataille Vivien lou vaillant*, he fled, precisely as we shall see his uncle flee in the poem we are considering.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first things in the poem which attracts our attention is the confused ideas of geography which prevail. It will be well, however, before discussing this subject, to resume in a very few sentences the events of the first part of the poem.

Deramé, at the head of a numerous army of Saracens, arrives at "Mont Gironde," and attacks Vivien, who is abandoned by Tedbalt and Estourmi. These typical cowards flee with their men. Vivien has with him Girart,<sup>2</sup> who follows the cowards long enough to inflict indignities upon them, and to possess himself of arms and steed at their expense. He then returns to aid Vivien, who, when nearly all his men are slain, sends him to Guillaume for help. Guillaume is at Barcelona, and sets out the next morning with thirty thousand men. Guiborc, also, is at Barcelona, and intrusts to him her own nephew, Guischart, charging him to bring him back alive or dead. Vivien has perished long before the arrival of his uncle, and the Saracens have loaded the booty into their ships, and are waiting for a wind to sail away.<sup>3</sup> The nobles and leaders of the Saracens had gone to examine "Terre

<sup>1</sup> The *Willame*, ll. 232-402. One thing that would have favored the retention of any humorous episode, like that of these two, is the tendency of the poem toward humor. It must be admitted that a number of lines in the episode of Tedbalt and Estourmi are genuinely comic.

<sup>2</sup> Vivien calls Girart "cousin": vide ll. 459, 649; cf. l. 690.

<sup>3</sup> This statement, which recurs, gives quite the setting of the invasions of the Northmen, and is perhaps to be considered along with the respect shown for the *meillurs homes de rivage de mer* (l. 52 and *statim*).

Certaine."<sup>1</sup> Guillaume attacks them, and is at first successful, but is overwhelmed by a fresh division from "Segune Tere." All of his knights are slain. Guillaume bears away with him the body of Guischart, according to his promise to Guiborc. He arrives, apparently at Barcelona, and finds Guiborc, who in his absence has gathered another army. He sets out in the morning with thirty thousand men, and is followed by Gui, the brother of Vivien, a mere lad. When they arrive at the scene of the battle, the Saracens have already carried the booty into the ships, and are waiting for a wind. Their nobles and leaders, however, have gone to see Terre Certaine, and are feasting at table when Guillaume and his followers attack them and put them to flight. Unfortunately, Deramé himself comes onto the scene with a fresh division, takes prisoner Bertram, Guielin, Guischart, Galter de Termes, and Reiner, no one of whom, unless it be Guischart, has been present thus far in the poem, and slays all the rest of the Christians, save Gui. The uncle and his diminutive nephew fight on through improbable combats, and finally wound and kill Deramé, whose horse falls to the lot of Gui. Before he dies, Deramé "regrets" his horse, just as does Aerofle in *Aliscans*. Gui is soon slightly separated from his uncle, who comes upon Vivien, expiring, but still able to speak. Vivien dies, and his uncle tries to carry away his body on his horse, but is forced to replace it upon the ground. Gui is taken prisoner. Guillaume remains entirely alone, and is attacked by Alderufe, whose leg Guillaume cuts off, just as he had done with Deramé; like him, Alderufe, lying wounded, "regrets" his horse, which his adversary has seized. Guillaume slays the horse on which he had been riding, and puts the Saracen out of his misery. He arrives at last before Orange, here mentioned by name for the second time in the series of events; the porter refuses to admit him, as does at first Guiborc also; she sends him to liberate some prisoners who are being led by and then admits him.<sup>2</sup> In her inquiries as

<sup>1</sup> This name occurs in the following passages of the poem: ll. 229, 1095, 1116, 1686, 1703. The same name appears in the *Roland*, l. 856, and in *Foucon*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> In an invaluable passage, ll. 665-75 (cited by M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 606) Vivien bids the messenger recall to his uncle how he with Bertram came to his rescue in the battle under the walls of Orange, where he slew Tibaut. In this passage the mention of Orange is thus retrospective. The first mention of Orange in the action of the poem is in l. 2054.

to his nephews she names Vivien, Bertram, Gui, Walter, Guielin, and Reiner. No mention is made of Guischart.<sup>1</sup> He answers that Vivien is dead, the others prisoners.

This brief analysis of the first part of the poem, taken with that given by M. P. Meyer, will enable one to follow the argument here unfolded.

The events narrated include two redactions of the battle of the Archamp: one, which we may call A, beginning at about l. 450 and extending to about l. 1326; the other, which we may call B, beginning, roughly speaking, where A ends and extending to about l. 2420. These events correspond to those beginning in the *Covenant Vivien* at l. 832, but they carry the story farther, and tell of the death of Vivien and the flight of his uncle. In A, Guillaume departs from Barcelona with thirty thousand men; they all perish, and he flees alone,<sup>2</sup> bearing on his saddle the body of the young nephew of Guiborc; Vivien died before his arrival, and he does not even find his body.<sup>3</sup> In B, he sets out from Barcelona<sup>4</sup> with thirty thousand men, all of whom, save five, who are his nephews,<sup>5</sup> perish; he flees alone, after having in vain tried to carry away the body of Vivien, whom he has found expiring.

We can best understand the relation of A and B by a comparison with the account of the events in question given in the *Storie Nerbonesi*,<sup>6</sup> an account which is peculiarly valuable because it is less ancient than that of A, and yet older than that of B. According to this account, which we may for brevity call

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned a little later, however, as having been taken prisoner with the others: ll. 2485, 2520, 3065, 3154.

<sup>2</sup> Line 1224 says: *Nen fuit mie Willame, ainz s'en vait*. It will not do, however, to take these words literally, for the hero tells Guiborc in the plainest language that she is the wife of a *malveis fueur*, a *malveis tresturneur* (ll. 1306, 1307). While it is probable that his flight is less animated than in *Atiacana*, since he is able to bear away the body of a boy, l. 1224 probably perverts the truth, and may show evidence of editing, i. e., an effort to avoid repetition.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that this action is almost exactly that of the *Nerbonesi* might have been mentioned by M. Meyer.

<sup>4</sup> The text does not say that he starts again from Barcelona, but the context establishes the fact.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that all the nephews—save, of course, always Vivien—perish in A, while they are all taken prisoner in B, would alone suffice to show which redaction of the battle is the older.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by I. G. ISOLA (Bologna, 1877-87), Vol. II, pp. 145 ff., the beginning of the sixth book, evidently the point at which the record of a separate poem begins.

N, Vivien had established himself, with the aid of Guillaume and others, as master of the principal cities of Catalonia. He is menaced with an attack from the Saracens under Tibaut, Maldue Deramé, and many other princes; he sends word of the threatened invasion to Guillaume at Orange, who gathers an army and marches to Barcelona, in order to be near at hand. Vivien is at Tortosa when the Saracens land. He hastens to meet them; the battle turns against him, and, at the eleventh hour, he sends Girart to Barcelona to summon his uncle. Guillaume sets out at once, but does not reach the field of battle until long after the death of Vivien, whose body he does not even see. His men are all slain, save three nephews, Girart, Guichart, and Gui, who are taken prisoner. He flees alone, and slays in his flight Acchin<sup>1</sup> and his son Baudus, taking in each case the horse of his adversary. He is pursued clear to Orange, which is at once besieged by the enemy.

We find here nearly all the elements present in A, and some which are lacking. The fact that the three nephews who in A perish<sup>2</sup> are taken prisoner in itself indicates a later version of the legend—one in which the sympathies of the Christian auditors of the poem demanded a gentler solution; one, further, which allowed these heroes to subsist that they might play a rôle in later episodes and poems. If in this regard N is manifestly more recent than A, it preserves none the less an ancient sequence of events in explanation of the presence of Guillaume at Barcelona. The testimony of A offers no explanation whatever of this presence, which justly surprises us.<sup>3</sup> The testimony of N makes all clear. The *Willame* and the *Nerbonesi* offer each other mutual support in all that pertains to the geography of the battle of Aliscans, so called, which we now see to be the battle of the Archamp, or Archant. In the light of this united testimony it is no longer possible to sneer at the information given by the latter work concerning this battle, as nearly all critics have

<sup>1</sup> P. 166; another form of this name is given as Archillo.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Gui appears only in B, and that he is there taken prisoner, but, as will be shown later, he probably figured in A, and there lost his life.

<sup>3</sup> M. P. MEYER goes so far as to say that we cannot tell from the poem whether the poet places Barcelona to the south or to the north of the Pyrenees (loc. cit., p. 606).



hitherto done.<sup>1</sup> What, however, is the testimony of the *Willame* as to the place of this celebrated battle? It has already been stated that the geography of the poem is lamentably weak. None the less, there can be no serious doubt; the redaction of A places the battle near Barcelona, and there is not the slightest real reason for supposing that this city is anywhere else than in Spain. M. Meyer says that we cannot tell whether the *author* places Barcelona to the north or to the south of the Pyrenees. Of what author does he speak? Can he believe for an instant that the epic, as we have it, is the final product of one man, and that we possess it just as it came from his hand? Such a theory could not be maintained for a moment, since no one worthy of the name of poet, or capable of composing the best scenes in this epic, could have left it with such crying absurdities on all sides. The poem must have passed through the hands of a number of *remanieurs* and copyists to have reached such a condition; indeed, it could not well contain so many and such grave contradictions, were it not formed by the awkward combination of different sources. It is therefore a matter of relative indifference to us whether the *remanieurs* or copyists placed in their mind Barcelona to the north or to the south of the Pyrenees. What is important is that the original author of the part of the poem which mentions this city probably knew whereof he sang and placed the city where it belongs. But, one may say, l. 962 reads of the invading Saracen commander: *Et est en France que si mal de sen orte*. Let us note, however, that this line is not to be weighed in comparison with the formal mention, twice repeated, of Barcelona, for the line is manifestly corrupt, as is indicated, not alone by its obscurity, but by the fact that three versions of it exist; l. 15 reads, *Entred que si mal des cunorted*, and l. 41, *En vostre tere est que si mal desonorted*. Furthermore, shortly after the passage mentioning France, the fact of the invasion is again stated (l. 969), where it stands: *Et est en terre qu'il met tut a exil*. The reading *France* of l. 962 would be doubtful in a poem whose geography was not askew; it can have no bearing

<sup>1</sup> It would be of little use to cite the critics who, from GAUTIER, *Epopées*, Vol. IV, p. 473, to A. F. REINHARD, *Die Quellen der Nerbonesi* (Altenburg, 1900), have nearly all failed to perceive the real value of the Italian compilation.

here, when it stands in plain contradiction with the most authoritative internal and external evidence.

Another point in this connection is the mention of Bourges and of Mont Gironde. The messenger who announces the invasion in the opening lines is said to find Tedbalt at Bourges, and he brings news that Deramé has landed at Mont Gironde.<sup>1</sup> The mention of Bourges here is probably due to the name Tedbald de Burges, which occurs two lines previously (l. 21). Not only does l. 23 have a lame appearance, as will be evident on reading the passage, but it occurs in that part of the poem which contains the greatest absurdities, both of action and geography. In fact, the mere narration of the events shows sufficiently their absurdity: A messenger announces at Bourges that the Saracens have landed at Mont Gironde, which, in the *Geste de Guillaume*, probably indicates Gironde, the modern Gerona, in Catalonia, called Gironde in the French epics, the supposed seat of Guillaume's epic brother Ernaut,<sup>2</sup> and that they are in the "Archamp." Tedbalt passes the night where he is, supposedly at Bourges, and in the morning he beholds the earth covered with the enemy. None the less, he slips out of the city, accompanied by ten thousand men, and marches to the "Archamp" to find the Saracens! The only other evidence we have to indicate where the "Archamp" is, lies in the fact that Vivien, his men reduced to one hundred (l. 556), and then to twenty (ll. 568, 575, 743, 746), sends Girart to his uncle at Barcelona. The distance does not seem to be great, although much dependence cannot of course be placed on the indications of time and distance as given.<sup>3</sup> Girart, we are told, had to fight his way for five "leagues," when his horse gave out. He went on on foot, and found the country alarmed for fifteen "leagues" farther; he hastens on, running all

<sup>1</sup> For these passages vide *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, p. 602.

<sup>2</sup> M. MEYER, who seems unwilling to admit that the battle took place in Spain, refers Mont Gironde to the Gironde, and takes with seriousness the mention of Bourges: loc. cit., pp. 602, 603. The poem mentions Hernald de Girunde in l. 2551, and also applies to the locality in Catalonia the words: *as prez de Girunde* (375), cf. 635, also *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 4545-4571. These facts, taken with the proximity of the city of Gironde to Barcelona and the evident field of military activity, exclude the possibility of "Mont Gironde" indicating the river.

<sup>3</sup> Such passages as ll. 749, 750 indicate in Vivien a hope, which we must think reasonable, that the aid sent for will arrive.

day long (ll. 736, 737). The journey seems much of it to be along the shore of the sea (ll. 710-12); the "Archamp" itself is evidently by the salt sea (ll. 839-66). The army of relief starts from Barcelona at nightfall, rides all night, and arrives at the "Archamp" in the morning (ll. 1082-89). If the indications of the poem could be relied on, the battlefield would certainly not be far from Barcelona, rather than near Bourges. We need, however, only to look at the matter in another light to feel that the "Archamp" must be in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona. What was Guillaume doing at this city, unless, as recounted in N, to be near at hand in case of an attack on Vivien? No other motive is visible, and this one fits so perfectly all the facts that we are obliged to accept it. Another point: Where had he come from in betaking himself to Barcelona? From Orange, doubtless. If, then, he went from Orange to Barcelona to be ready to relieve Vivien who was near Bourges or the Gironde, it must be admitted that he adopted a novel way of doing so. The only reasonable supposition is that Vivien was near Barcelona.

But, after all, what evidence is there that Guillaume set out from Barcelona to relieve Vivien? One may say, *a priori*, that, Spain being the scene of the exploits of Vivien in general, it is likely that the culminating scene of his death is there also. We know, for instance, that the *Covenant Vivien*<sup>1</sup> and the *Enfances Vivien*<sup>2</sup> place his exploits in Spain. The only sources which state that Guillaume marched from Barcelona to the field of battle where Vivien died are the *Willame*, N, and *Foucon*. This last poem says of Guillaume on this occasion: *De Barzelone quand il issit*.<sup>3</sup> The evidence was deemed sufficiently strong before the discovery of the *Willame*; since then, it is overwhelming.<sup>4</sup>

It being granted that the army went from Barcelona to the battlefield of the Archamp, is there any further evidence to enable

<sup>1</sup> Vide l. 62: *Il sont entré en Espagne la grant*.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *statim*. Mention is made in two excellent MSS of Galice, which is the scene of some of the hero's exploits in N: vide MS 1449, l. 3375; MS 1448, l. 3384. The MS in prose, ll. 2046 ff., shows also that the city which Vivien has taken is in Spain, near the road of St. Jacques-de-Compostelle. This city is said to be in Galicia in the text F of the life of St. Vidian: *St. Vidian de Martres-Tolosanes*, p. 52, *Bulletin de lit. ecclésiastique*, published by the Institut Catholique de Toulouse, No. 2, février 1902. <sup>3</sup> Edition of TARDÉ, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *The Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, in "The University of Missouri Studies," Vol. I, No. 2, 1902, pp. 37, 40, 50, 51; also *Romania*, Vol. XXX, p. 197.

us to locate this spot? According to N, Vivien was at Tortosa when the invasion was announced, and he there awaited the enemy.<sup>1</sup> Guillaume came to Barcelona with a newly gathered army, lest the enemy should retake this city. It is here that he is summoned, just as in the *Willame*, by Girart, and from here that he sets out for the fatal field. It may be observed, in passing, that the distance as indicated by the *Willame* squares very well with the geography of N. But N is not the only source which gives the neighborhood of Tortosa as the site of this celebrated struggle. In *Foucon*, p. 83, Tibaut, in reciting the conflicts he has had with the family of Guillaume, says that it is true that they took away from him—presumably without great loss—Balesguer, Barcelona, Porpaillart, and “Gloriette,” but that he made them pay dearly for Tortelouse, where he slew Vivien.<sup>2</sup> Tortelouse is a frequently found form of Tortose. It seems clear that the battle of the Archamp, which has generally been called the battle of Aliscans, took place in Catalonia, not far from Tortosa.

What are we to say, however, about the evidence of *Aliscans*, and of the *Covenant*, according to which Guillaume goes from Orange to the field of battle, which appears to be quite near?

The newly discovered *chanson* allows us to answer this question authoritatively. If the *Willame* began at the same point in the action as *Aliscans*, it would contain no mention of Barcelona. Indeed, what distinguishes these two epics is the sloughing off of the first branch of the *Willame*—the more ancient branch, the one which alone preserved to some extent the original action. Nor does it require a seer to divine that the expeditions of Guillaume from Barcelona were destined to disappear from the *Willame*, provided that the epic continued to be sung, for the presence of the hero at Barcelona is entirely unmotivated. The stages in the development of the *Chançon de Willame*, or of its original, in the march toward *Aliscans*, were probably as follows: First stage:<sup>3</sup> Guillaume was at Orange, where he learned of an invasion of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Another mention of this is found on p. 86 of the same poem.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that the original scene of Guillaume's exploits was Catalonia, a supposition whose possibility has never been suggested. The accepted theories of the critics all place his original seat at Orange, and treat his exploits in Spain as relatively modern. If the original scene of his exploits was in Spain, the first stage of the legend contained of course no mention of Orange.

the lands of Vivien, in the Archamp. He gathers an army, betakes himself to Barcelona, and is summoned from there to the field of battle. He arrives after the death of Vivien, loses all his men, and flees alone to Barcelona. Second stage: Guillaume is at Barcelona—we are not told why—whence he is summoned by Vivien, who is in mortal danger in the Archamp. He hastens to the rescue, but arrives too late, his nephew being already dead. He loses all his men, and flees alone to Barcelona. Third stage: Guillaume's presence at Barcelona, being unmotivated, is left out. He is summoned from Orange, marches to the Archamp in the same time as in the other versions from Barcelona, finds Vivien dying, ministers to his wants, loses all his men, save his other nephews, who, instead of perishing as in previous versions, are taken prisoner, and flees alone to Orange. Fourth stage: virtually the same as the preceding, save that, the name "Archamp" not being understood, the *remanieurs* begin to use concurrently with it the name "Aliscans," which came about in this way: The field of this terrible battle, being now evidently near Orange, could only be the site of the celebrated cemetery at Arles, called Aliscamps, where countless ancient tombs were to be seen—tombs which the people venerated as those of martyrs who had many of them fallen in defense of the cross.<sup>1</sup> There has thus been a steady trend of the action from Spain toward Orange, the cyclic seat of Guillaume.

Of the versions of the battle extant, N preserves the ancient geography best and clearest, although it is posterior to A in a number of points, such as the taking prisoner of the nephews. The version of *Foucon*, as far as it goes, is of the second stage. The redaction A belongs to the second stage; B, in part to the third stage; the *Covenant*, *Aliscans*, and the *Willehalm*, to the fourth. In the last-mentioned poem Vivien accompanies Guillaume from Orange to the scene of the battle,<sup>2</sup> and Wulfram speaks of the tombs that strew the battlefield.<sup>3</sup>

RAYMOND WEEKS.

COLUMBIA, MO.

<sup>1</sup> The testimony of the *Chronicle of TURPIN* concerning the cemetery at Arles is well known, as is the passage from PHILIPPE MOUSKET, ll. 8970-72. A similar passage is found in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, edited by FITA and VINSON (Paris, 1882), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Vide ll. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Vide ll. 386, 6 ff.; 259, 5 ff.; 394, 20 ff.; 437, 20 ff., 259, 6 ff.

## KÖGELSPIL.

THE following rhymed dialogue was published in 1522 at Nuremberg and is a worthy contribution to the literature of the Reformation movement. Burckhard in his *Vita Hutteni*, T. III, p. 316, describes it as follows:

Facere non possum, quin & de alio, eoque ludicro prorsus, Versibus Germ. conscripto, Libello, cuius euoluendi max. reverendus Olearius, pro saepius iam laudata sua commodandi aliis voluntate, copiam mihi fecit, qui & memorati modo Dialogi notitiam mihi aperuit quaedam addam. Titulus eius hic est. Kögelspil etc. 1522. Effigies, quae in prima Libelli pagina, siue in fronte eius, adparet, repraesentat b. Lutherum, in habitu, quo Monachui vsus fuerat: in manibus globum, cui verba haec inscripta leguntur, hailig gschrift, tenentem: ad cuius, si in ipsam aream, siue sphaeristerium, prospicit, sinistram Huttenus loricatus, Erasmus Roter. nominatim, alique adstant; ad dexteram Pontifex, & Curtisani in ipsis cancellis tres comparent homunciones, conos in manibus tenentes. Post praefationem, loquentes introducuntur: Martinus Luther, aller Kegler mutter, der Hutt: etc.

The *Kögelspil* is directed against Eberlin von Günzburg and his fifteen *Bundsgenossen* that were printed in Basel in 1521. The fact that Erasmus Roterodamus and Ulrich von Hutten are represented on the title page side by side with Martin Luther, *aller kegler mütter*, must mean that the author of this rhymed dialogue, whose name we do not yet know, looked upon Hutten and Erasmus as direct or indirect supporters of Luther. The author was surely not a friend of the humanists, whom he seems to hold responsible for the present disturbances in the church.

The reprint follows the original copy that Goedeke mentions in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Vol. II, p. 221, the one in the Royal Library at Göttingen, H. E. Eccl. 104g<sup>2</sup> (*Varia ad Historiam Reformat. Spectantia*). A similar copy is in the British Museum (11517. ee. 6), eight leaves. Reg. A-B iv, without pagination, wood cut beneath the title.

Panzer, *Annalen*, Vol. II, p. 122, mentions under No. 1582 another edition that differs in language from the one here printed. I have not been able to ascertain whether this edition still exists.

KOGELSPIL GEBRACHTTIZIERT AUSZ DEM YECZIGEN ZWY,,  
 TRACHT DES GLAUBENS ZÜ EYM TAIL AIN GESELLETZ, ALLE SO DANN MART,  
 TINO LUTHER ANNHANGENT. ZÜM TAIL DIE DANN DEM RECHTEN  
 ALTEN WEG DES EUANGELIUMS NACH JREM VERMÖGEN NACH  
 VOLGENT, MIT SAMPT ANDREN SO HYE DYSEM SPIL ZÜ LÜGEN  
 HYERINN VERGRIFFEN GENENTT WERDENT. DIE KUGEL  
 IST DIE HAILIG GESCHRIFFT. DAS ZYL IST DER GLAUB.  
 DER PLATZ DES JAMERTAL, KEGEL SEIND DIE AR  
 MEN SCHLECHTEN EINFELTIGEN LEYEN, DIE AB  
 ENTHEYER IST DAS EWIG LEBEN, DIE DREYER  
 Jm Jar SEIND DIE HAILGEN LERER DER PAULUS M D xxii.  
 .iiij. EUANGELI. VND DIE .xij. POTEN.

(Wood cut.)

A VSZ götlicher gnad seind wir alle geboren  
 vnd zü der ewigen seligkait auszerkoren.  
 Got der almechtig gesprochen hat  
 Wie dann Marce am .xvj. stadt  
 Welcher glaubt vnd getauft wirt  
 vnd sunst an dem rechten weeg mit ytt  
 Gütter werck nach götlichem gebot  
 spricht Jacobus on allen spot.  
 Fides mortua est sine operibus  
 vnd nit wie Judas gab den falschen kusz  
 Der wirt selig on allen won  
 wie ich dann von Paulo auch verston  
 Ad Philippenses. XXX. Capitulo  
 stat geschriben krad inn medio  
 Welcher nun sich also schickt in disem leben  
 dem wil got die ewig rü geben  
 Das wirt der best lon sein | so wir faren von hinnen  
 welcher will mag in wol hye gewinnen.

¶ Martinus Luther aller kegler  
 (mütter.)

Dise abetheür ist vns lang hie verhalten  
 wie ich dann hab vnder den alten  
 Des Euangeliums bücher funden  
 schier zerrissen von den hunden  
 Zü der selbigen abentheür das zil.  
 ich yetz gantz krumm machen wil  
 Aller kegler mütter bin ich genant  
 wie dann meine gesellen mich lang hond erkant  
 Alle krümmy kan ich wol erdencken



hindren stülen vnnnd hindern bencken  
 Vnnnd krad kan ich werffen zû der quest<sup>1</sup>  
 es dunckt mich yetz das aller best  
 Wir jungen wend das zyl verrucken  
 die alten mügent sich nyt seer bucken  
 Jr glider seind in vngleychsam worden

Aij

besunder der . iiij. Betlers ordenn  
 Das preyor<sup>2</sup> müsz hat sy verderbt  
 vnd ye ainer es von dem andren ererbt.

¶ Der Hutt.

Tag vnnnd nacht will ich mich besynnen  
 wie ich die Kugel well dahinnen  
 Schyeben krumb über die letze hand  
 ich wirff sy durch alle land  
 Teütsch vnnnd<sup>3</sup> welsch dem bapst zû laid  
 die Kugel laufft heer auff weyter haid  
 Jnn dem lufft gleich wie der staub  
 auff den Hussen setz ich den besten glaub.

¶ Erasmus Rotterdam.

Jnn Grecia bin ich lang zeit gewesen  
 Greckisch vnd Hebraisch geleert lesen  
 Die Epistolas Pauli<sup>4</sup> recht transzferiert  
 christenlichen glauben mit meiner geschriff<sup>t</sup> zyert  
 Ee man gewiszt hat mein rechte kunst  
 darumb so sol ich haben gunst  
 Von allen geleerten auff diser erden  
 wann der glaub schier zû nichten wolt werden  
 Mit der geschriff<sup>t</sup> der alten büchen  
 welcher recht will thûn solsz bey mir sûchen

¶ Philippus Melanthon.

Wie wol ich noch nit seer bin alt  
 hab doch der dapffern weiszheit gestalt.  
 Was die alten überhupfft hond mit springen  
 thûn ich wider an tag bringen  
 Mit kunst vnnnd weiszheit klûg  
 deren hinder mir steckent genûg

¶ Maister Lefw.

Vndrem hûtlîn habent sy wellen spilen  
 hab ich wol gemerckt von fylen  
 Mit jren Ceremonijs der zeit  
 das alles geschehen ist auff den geyt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DWb., 7, 2305, quest, m. f. gewinn.

<sup>2</sup> 17

<sup>3</sup> Referring to Hutten's writings both in Latin and German.

<sup>4</sup> Published in 1518.

<sup>5</sup> Avarice.

Darumb wolten sy nit haben  
 das man den Lateinischen büchstaben  
 Brechte zû Teutscher zungen  
 jr Kugel hat die kegel übersprungen  
 der platz ist lang wol gewesen jr fûg  
 nach meinem geduncken so ist es gnûg  
 Die kegel stond erst steyff auff dem platz  
 ja mit meiner teutschen jnterpretatz  
 Dann was vor verborgen ist gewesen  
 mag yetz ain yetlicher selbs lesen.

¶ Maister Cûnrat ain kreytzherr.

Jch wondt ich wer auff dem rechten weg  
 so habendt sy mir gelegt ain andern steeg  
 Da ich erst hort von disem spil sagen  
 maindt man solt die bûben all veryagen  
 Bin doch dar hinder kommen weysz nit wie  
 maindt es wer noch recht zû gangen hie  
 Habendt nun die alten nit recht gethon  
 so mûsz ich mein Gotzhausz auch verlon  
 Jst es nun als ichs hab yetz vernommen  
 so habendt wir vnsers auch nit rechtlich überkommen  
 Wer not das wir als vnsers klostere gût  
 wie dann ain yetlicher wûcherer thût  
 Will er besitzen das ewig leben  
 alles sammet vmb gots willen geben.

¶ Maister Bastian

Es ist nit mynder vil ist inn der welt  
 als erdacht auff geytz vnd auff gelt.  
 Vnder Bâpsten Bischoffen vnd pfaffen  
 man hat lang zeit gelauset dem affen  
 Der inn der küsten ist gelegen  
 doch so darff ichs von niemants sâgen  
 Dar gegen ist es yetz auch erdichtet vil  
 das mir nit als beym besten gefallen will.  
 wie wol ich des meer tails beredt bin.

Aiij

ich lassz doch also schleichen dahin  
 Was mir gefeldt das halten ich  
 was mir nit gefeldt das scheûb ich neben sich  
 Wer wol gût vnd das aller best  
 wir hielten all ain steten glauben fest  
 Vmb des willen got zu biten bin ich alzeit beraydt  
 das er vns geb ain gûtte ainigkait

¶ Die Jungen nach hetscher.<sup>1</sup>

Das ich von dem keglen vil künde sagen  
 ich hab noch nit souil auff mir der tagen.  
 Es dunckt mich aber ain güt spil  
 das man vns auch weiber geben wil.  
 Jch hab auch sunst nit vil oft beten  
 ich will Lieber auff der gassen tredten  
 Das wirt vns sein ain gütter krieg  
 es sey dann sach das der Luther lieg  
 Es wirt bald dartzu kommen  
 das man die bösen mit den frommen  
 Wirt nemen alles das sy hond  
 Dann so wirt vns villeicht auch ain güt pfand  
 Geet es mir wol so sich ichs gern  
 geetz mir übel so ist heuer wie ferndt  
 Jch will auch seer nachher sagen  
 vnnd was ich in den vorigen tagen  
 hab gehört, von andren leuten gesprochen  
 das thû ich an meyner Cantzel auch kochen  
 Das ist mein predigen vnd mein weszen  
 ich übertreib mich sunst nit mit leszen  
 Man wirt bald vnser pfründen beszer machen.  
 das mügen wir dann wol gelachen  
 Wyrff meer lassz die kugel lauffen heer.  
 hab acht wie sy hin vnnd wider feer.  
 Triffts, so treffs was leydt mir dran  
 nachts ich nichts destminder schlaffen kan.

Wir wellen auch faren nach disem schein  
 so spricht man, sy mügen auch wol geleert sein.

## ¶ Maister Ulrich zwingly.

Jr gesellen jr werffent gar vngeleich  
 ich mein das jr nit wellent werden reich  
 Von diser abentheur vnnd gewünn  
 von disem werffen mag ich nit kommen hin  
 Jr müssent noch seer zu der schüle gon  
 Wolt jr die alten mit keglen beston.  
 Was ich gewynn das verlierent jr  
 jr werffent vnwissent gar böse geschir  
 Den rechten weeg welt ich gern faren  
 vnd mich damit nichts sparen  
 Was ich möcht in mir selbs erfynden

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GRIMM, Wb., IV, 2, 1269, under *hetschen*, verb. intrans. *ziehen, gehen, bummeln*.  
 The noun is not given by Heyne, nor does Sanders have it.

damit ich vil armer kinder  
 Möcht bringen zû der waren abentheûr  
 wir werffen all ferndt<sup>1</sup> vnnnd heûr<sup>2</sup>  
 Vnder ain ander zabeln<sup>3</sup> das ist nit gût  
 des kegel spil leyt mir seer jm mût  
 Zûm zyl bin ich yetz gestanden so dick  
 das ich darab selbs schier darab erschrick.

¶ Zû seher disem kegel spil seind  
 disz nachfolgent

Bapst.

Disze kegler all seind mir zegrad  
 vnd stûdent kegel als grosz als ain rad  
 Mit jrem vil krummen zil stellen  
 kainen kûnd ich da fellen  
 Jch sprech schier wol auff mein ayd  
 sy thetents nun als mir zû layd  
 Souil scheltwort ein genommen hab ich.  
 das es nun seer bekûmmert mich  
 Wenn sy nun den Christen glauben also meren.  
 paulus hat sy das schelten mit thûn leeren  
 Wann sy solchs woltent vnderston

so müstens anderst fahen an  
 Wir seind ja all brüder von ainem leib  
 Christus schûff auch das erste weib  
 Von deren wir alle kommen synd  
 leipblichen genent ainer mûter kynd  
 Auff ain news durch den tauff geboren.  
 Jn Christum kinder anszerkoren  
 Christus das haupt hat vns bracht wider  
 welches haupts wir alle seind glider  
 Secht durch got das kenn ich wol  
 jr die da seind alles neydes vol  
 Gegen eûrn brüdern, vnd gegen mir vorusz  
 was wirt hinden nach eûr Conclus  
 So doch als allain ausz eûrn hasz geschicht  
 wie dann eûr gschrift, wort vnd werck vergicht.<sup>4</sup>  
 Die hoffart hat eûch gar über geben  
 nichts gûts seind jr in eûrem hertzen pflegen  
 Aufrûr vnnnd vil grosser zwitracht  
 hond jr mit eûrer hoffart gemacht  
 Jr woltent gern hye auff diszer erden  
 für die geleertesten geacht werden.

<sup>1</sup> "Far."

<sup>2</sup> "Near."

<sup>3</sup> For zappeln.

<sup>4</sup> "Proves."

Darumb jr mit euren listigen fünden  
 der welt etwas news verkünden  
 Fuchszlistigkait ist eür hailiger gaist  
 durch den teüfel eingeblaszt<sup>1</sup> aller mayst.  
 Ach got wer es recht fürgenommen.  
 ich welt willenklich<sup>2</sup> sein kommen  
 Mit meynem leben in ain rechte reformatz  
 wie wol ich mich durch das loblich gesatz  
 Vnsern frommen voffaren hab gehalten  
 vnd noch weiter lassen got walten  
 Ausz dem Paulo des Euangelium gemacht.  
 durch frümkait geschehen in gütter acht  
 Es müssen dartzu thun nach ander leüt  
 sunst ker ich mich ann eür geschwetz neüt

Jch gib wol dar für Vnnd ist also  
 wer der Marthinus Luther da.  
 Zu ainem Cardinal worden wie ersz begert  
 er Schlyff mit so scharpff sein schwert  
 Wider ain ganntze hailigkayt  
 sunnst ist jm nicks gethon zu layd.

¶ Kayserlich Mayestat.

Ain auff mercken haben wir auff dises spy  
 kyndent nit ersynnen wa es hinn ausz wil.  
 Ain Reichsztat<sup>3</sup> haben wir gehabt  
 da ist auch kommen heer getrabt.  
 Martinus Luther inn ainem gelaidt  
 jm da zu geben gütte sycherhait.  
 Seyne artickel haben wir vernommen  
 mit sampt andren so dahin seind kommen  
 Den Doctoribus weysen maystern klüg  
 zimlicher zal da gewesen genüg  
 Etlich artickel habent wir jm verboten  
 das er weder inn Fryeszland oder schoten<sup>4</sup>  
 Solte meer daruon sagen  
 über das thut er weitter heer jagen.  
 Die Kugel über alles gebot  
 hat ann sych gehenckt etlych rott.  
 Wellent wir ain zeit lanng lassen ston  
 vnnd sy wol damit Verzabeln lon.  
 Bysz es füg hat inn rechtter massen  
 wellent wir inn weytter verhören lassen.

<sup>1</sup> Modern High German, *eingeblesen*.

<sup>2</sup> For *willentlich*. Occurs several times in the text in this form.

<sup>3</sup> Worms, 1521.

<sup>4</sup> An expression very common in Middle High German epics.

¶ Byschoff.

Es ist nit minder vñnd erkenn es wol  
das ain yetlicher mensch sol  
Leben, nach dem er ist inn seynem stadt  
wie Paulus oft gemeldet hat.  
Fruchtpar mit ainem gütten beyspil  
des halb ich mich selbs nennen wil.  
Nyemandts kain har spalten oder hofyeren

B

Ye ainer kan den andren wol reformieren  
Basz dann er sich selbs erkenn  
damit ich sy all samet nenn  
Ye ainer dem andren wol kan sagen  
was er hab ligen inn seinem magen  
Unuertewts, solltu glauben  
die sahent auch inn ander leüt augen  
Ain klain stebly darinn verharren  
vñd merckent nit den grossen sparren<sup>1</sup>  
Den sy lang habent getragen  
doch so zimpts sich yetz nit zů sagen  
Von disen dingen, got erkent vns all wol  
seydt ich aber auch dartzů sehen sol.  
So erman ich die alten priesters gnossen  
das sy auch schyebent die kegel possen

¶ Gemain Eydgnossen auch zů seher  
Zürich spricht.

Wir haben bey vns ain gelerten man  
der alle schrift wol ermessen kan  
Der ist gaistlich vñd weiszhait vol  
yetlicher seinem gaistlichen vater sol  
Glauben was er jm seyt  
vñd alzeit nach zů volgen sein berayt  
Nun sagt er vns vil vñd gnüg  
yetlicher verstats aber nach seinem fůg  
Es ist nit minder es were recht  
man liesz zům tail von disem brecht<sup>2</sup>  
Das sy selb vñder ainander hyeltent radt  
wie dan jr Consilium auch inn hat  
Selbs ain andern sagtent mit dem mund  
nit wider ain andren byllent<sup>3</sup> wie die hund.

¶ Auff das, der andern Eydgnoss,  
en anttwurt.

<sup>1</sup> "Beam."

<sup>2</sup> MHG. *brecht stn.*, "controversy."

<sup>3</sup> "To bark."

Sy habent lang pollen<sup>1</sup> wie brüder clausz ist  
 der gesprochen hat man solle auff vnsrem myst  
 bleiben. Deinem herren sunst ziehen zû  
 wellen wir in vnsrem nest haben rû  
 an allen kantzlen sunst nit künnent sagen  
 dann wie man hin vnd heer reyzt zetagen  
 So seer seind sy auff seiner weyssag gelegen  
 wie man nach seinem radt all ding sol pflegen  
 Vnd habent nun vil auff jn gehalten  
 nun ist er warlich auch gewesen der alten  
 Hat er auch weiszgesagt von diser newen leer?  
 das man beeten vnd fasten sol nymmer meer  
 Oder anders man yetzunnd seyt  
 widerwertigkait machen in der Christenhait  
 Jch gyb wol darfür er hab sein nye gedacht  
 got geb wer dises spil hab her bracht  
 Es wer mein radt dz man vnsren pfaffen thet bieten  
 sy jnen selbs auch das bestrieten  
 Künden sy vns brüder Clausen in die nasen reyben.  
 so müstend sy auch auff seinem alten weg bleyben  
 Lassent recht den alten weeg also beston  
 vnd nemedt sich vnsers tagens auch nit mer an.

¶ Zûm andren tayl so dann an dem kegel rysz  
 seind sunst gemein priester vnd ver  
 kûnder des Euangeliums.

Das zyl wellent wir widerumb rucken  
 ich mag mich nit so krumm vmbher bucken  
 Vil renckens kûdent sy mit jren leyben  
 ich wil die kugel schlechts einher treiben  
 Wie vnsre vorfaren gethon hond  
 es müsz vns ymmer sein ain schand  
 Das yetz die jungen lollfetzen<sup>2</sup>  
 mit jrem vnnutzen schwetzen,  
 Das zyl also wolttten verkeren  
 vnnd das gemain volck nichts gûts leeren  
 mit jren seltzamen newen fynden  
 etlich weder jm alten noch newen gsatz nichts kunden.

Bij.

Dann allain schryen in jrem stoltzen mût  
 wie ain yeglicher senff ryeffter thût.  
 Lobt in seer, vnd wunst sein nit  
 dann wa er sy zû vil nem auff die schnidt.

<sup>1</sup>Not to be found in GRIMM or SANDERS. Same as *lol-hart*, "lay brother," used disparagingly.



Darein gedunckt mit seynem brot  
 es brecht jm grosz angst vnn not.  
 Die alten rechten weg, machent sy vns krumm  
 vnn wyssent warlich nichts darumb.  
 Sy treyben all nichts dann ain schein  
 vnn wellent dardurch gesehen sein.  
 Jch hab noch nye kayn kendt oder gesehen  
 der da kündt mit der warhait yehen.  
 Er hab sich bessert ab jrem weszen  
 durch jr predigen, oder sunst ab leszen.  
 Jnn den büchlen sy habent ausz lassen gan  
 du bist meer darab inn ergernus kan.  
 Vnn gantz leichtfertig darab worden  
 got geb was du habst für ain orden.  
 Gaistlich oder wêltlich warinn du bist  
 welcher sunst ist ain bôszter Christ.  
 Magst jm leicht vrsach machen  
 er haytzt nit, wann er nit mûsz bachen.  
 Das soltu von den gaistlichen verston  
 er beet nicht wann er nicht mûsz messz hon.  
 Doch so sein jr souil also verrucht  
 sy haben mesz halten, on beten auch versûcht.  
 Fleisch fressen vnn auch nicht fasten  
 pfaffen weyber nemen, vnd die medlein tasten.  
 Nymmen beychten nit vil beeten  
 mit dem opffer nicht meer zûm altar dretten.  
 Mit hinweg lauffen der mûnch vnd der nunnen  
 ausz dem orden als wer das kloster verbrunnen.  
 Vil hûren vnn bûben wirt das geben  
 sy haben vorhyn gewont wol leben.  
 Essen vnn trincken on arbeit  
 yetzund wirt es in werden laid  
 Wann sy sich mit arbeit müssen begon  
 werden sy steelen vnd mûrden fahen an.  
 Das ist vns noch als recht vnn wol geseyt  
 wann zûm beszen seind wir alweg ee bereyt.  
 Dann zû dem gûten inn allen dingen.  
 man dorfft vns darumb nit gschrift her bringen  
 Doch so maynents es sey nit der gleichen  
 vnn wellent jm ain farb an streychen.  
 Sy habent zûm ersten zû vil daran gethon  
 yetz meynens man solsz nit also verston.  
 Sechent das seind mir redlich sachen  
 das yetz ain yetlicher selbs will machen

Vber den Paulum das Euangelium  
 nach seinen syn schlecht oder krum.  
 Sy wellent mir nun krum machen das zyl  
 den glauben ich dardurch nemen wil  
 Die kugel dreens auff letzter<sup>1</sup> hand  
 gleich als ob sich niemants darauff verstand  
 Ringglens vnd rangglens hin vnnnd har  
 darumb sich darauff du gemaine schar  
 Du Bapst vnnnd Kayser vor allen  
 was keglen mit der kugel myessent fallen  
 Die kugel habent sy wol beschniten  
 ain falben<sup>2</sup> ring hat sy an mitten  
 Vnder allen dreern<sup>3</sup> seind sy gewesen  
 vnnnd maynent sy haben ausserlesen  
 Die aller best die da mocht sein  
 der hailigen gschrift geben sy also ain<sup>4</sup>schein  
 Sy sprechent es sey verborgen vnnnd verhalten  
 gewesen, in geschrift vnder den alten  
 Die recht Kugel an ketten gebunden  
 die selben habent sy erst yetz funden  
 Ausz dem Hussen seiner zauberey  
 ich glaub nit das das recht Euangelium sey.

Bijj

der Hussz der wil sych widerumb regen  
 man müsz denen auch also geleben  
 Jre ausz fynding syn vnnnd gedanck  
 welches sy durch des weinnesz getranck  
 Jm schlaf trunck angeschlagen habent, vnd einhellig  
 worden seind.

wie ich dann in jren büchlen fynd  
 Sy bey ain andern gesessen  
 oder sunst getruncken vnnnd geessen  
 Einhellig jren radt beschlossen  
 in sunderhait die .xv. bossen<sup>4</sup>  
 Vnd kainer dem andren nicks verlorems geben  
 wann ainer heer hat bracht ain gespan  
 so sprachens gleych wir wellens also han  
 Wie dann die .xv. Bossen<sup>4</sup>  
 in jren pundtsz büchlen habent beschlossen  
 Sy schwürn all bey dem als sy werendt fromm  
 man müsz das gantz Concilyum

<sup>1</sup> "Left."

<sup>2</sup> "Yellow."

<sup>3</sup> "Worker in wood, turner." Cf. on the title page: *die dreyer seind die hailgen lerer.*

<sup>4</sup> By Eberlin von Guenzburg.

Mit niemants anders verletzen  
dann allain als in jr mainung setzen  
Ha Ha Ha nun müsz ich doch warlich lachen  
das sy also ausz jnen selbs wellent machen  
Bapst Bischoff vnnnd Kayser auch  
thet ichs man sprech ich wer ain gauch.

¶ Schulthaysz von ober Eszlingen.  
Jch waisz nicht was sy all machent  
ich sich aber wol das die pauren lachent  
Sy weltent nit das es anderst solte gon  
was güt wer das wellen sy nicht verston  
Nicht opffern nit meer zehent geben  
das weren jnen ain güt leben  
Wie der bischoff von steffen seyt  
der von solchem spil hat jm selbs auff geleytt  
Den bischoff hüt mit aignem gewalt  
yetlichem narren seyn aigner kolb wol gefalt.

¶ Conclusio.

Dises spil ist also bereydt  
niemants zü lieb noch zü laid  
Also inn vnuerdachtem müt  
ain yetlicher sein selbs hüt  
Habe, vnd sech sich eben für  
glück vnnnd vngelück vor der thür  
Wartet auff vns in baydem stadt  
dann welcher nun des glück hat  
vorausz die gottes krafft genent  
Der wirt nymmer meer geschent  
Ain partey yetz hat erhebt sich  
wersz nun gewunn wundert mich  
Die abentheür auff disem plan.  
disz spil solt jr also verston.  
Die kegler zü aym tail ich fynnd  
alle die da Lutherisch seind  
Züm andren tail vorausz vnd vorab  
die nit Lutherisch seind gezelt hab.

¶ Lenhart<sup>1</sup> zü der aych.  
Man schreibt vil von Christenlicher leer  
ich sich aber niemants der sich daran ker  
News vnnnd alts gilt seer gleich  
got geb was der<sup>2</sup> wer nun ich reich  
Also geet es yetz in diser welt  
mein kummer welt ich auch wenden, het ich gelt.

AMEN

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<sup>1</sup> GOEDEKE<sup>2</sup>, II, 221, remarks: "Der Ba genannte 'Lenhart zü der aych' ist mit Unrecht als Verfasser angesehen."

<sup>2</sup> Insert wil.

## THE OLD ENGLISH OFFA SAGA.

### I.

It has long been recognized that the epic hero Offa of "Ongle," first mentioned in *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, by the end of the twelfth century had become confused in tradition with the historic Offa of Mercia (757-96). The question of the origin and relationships of the stories attached to the name Offa, touched upon by Gramm,<sup>1</sup> Langebek,<sup>2</sup> Suhm,<sup>3</sup> Dahlmann,<sup>4</sup> and Müller-Velschow,<sup>5</sup> in connection with the Danish traditions written down by Sveno Aggonis (about 1185) and Saxo Grammaticus (before 1208), and discussed in connection with *Beowulf* by Kemble,<sup>6</sup> Lappenberg,<sup>7</sup> Suchier,<sup>8</sup> Ten Brink,<sup>9</sup> Mullenhoff,<sup>10</sup> and Olrik<sup>11</sup> especially, has up to the present time reached no more definite conclusion than that stated by Ten Brink,<sup>12</sup> in speaking of the twelfth century, as follows:

Das alte Epos war schwerlich mehr lebendig, doch wurde noch manches Stück epischer Sage, wenn auch in modifizierter Gestalt, fortgepflanzt. So die Sage vom alten, epischen Angelnkönig Offa, die man auf den grossen Offa von Mercien übertragen hatte.<sup>13</sup>

It is the aim of the present paper (1) to separate, as far as possible, the materials belonging to the lost saga of the epic *Offa* from legends attached directly to the name of the historic king; (2) to trace, as far as possible, the sources of the separate stories

<sup>1</sup> MEYER, *Opera* (Florence, 1746), IX, cols. 35 F., 36 D, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi* (Copenhagen, 1772), I, 45, n. \*.

<sup>3</sup> SUHM-GRÄTER, *Geschichte der Dänen* (Leipzig, 1803), I, 111-55.

<sup>4</sup> *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte* (Altona, 1822), I, 233-37.

<sup>5</sup> *Sazonis Grammatici Historia Danica* (Copenhagen, 1858), Pars II, 137-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Beowulf* (London, 1837), xxx-xxxi.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesch. von Eng.* (HEEREN U. URENT, *Europ. Staaten*, I, II, Hamburg, 1834), 222-32.

<sup>8</sup> PAUL U. BRAUNE, *Beiträge*, etc. (Halle, 1876), IV, 500-521.

<sup>9</sup> *Quell. und Forsch.* (Strassburg, 1888), LXII, 116-18, 221, 222, 229-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Beowulf* (Berlin, 1889), 72-88.

<sup>11</sup> *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Folge, Fjerde Bind, 4. Hæfte (Christiania), 365-75.

<sup>12</sup> *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.* ed. BRANDL (Strassburg, 1899), 174.

<sup>13</sup> SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 500) gives a bibliography of the early discussions. To his list and the names given above may be added: PAUL, *Grundriss* (Strassburg, 1891-93), II, 534; BROOKE, *Hist. of Early Eng. Lit.* (New York and London, 1892), 67, note, 76, 253.

and the process by which the two figures came to be confused; (3) to indicate the probable content of the lost saga; (4) to form, if possible, some conclusion in regard to its relationship to other sagas known in England and the place of the personality of Offa in Old English and mediæval literature.

The chief basis for this study is the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*,<sup>1</sup> of which the oldest manuscript is Cotton Nero D I<sup>2</sup> (fols. 2-25), believed to be the original *Liber Additamentorum* written under the direction of Matthew Paris before 1259 and intended by him to illustrate his *Chronica Majora*.<sup>3</sup> Since *V* contains most of the non-historical material relative to Offa of Mercia, and the only detailed account of the earlier Offa written in England, an inquiry into its authorship may throw light upon its sources.

It is certain that the writer was a monk of St. Albans,<sup>4</sup> not Matthew Paris;<sup>5</sup> and probable that the time of its composition was during the abbacy of John de Cella (1195-1214).<sup>6</sup> Luard maintains that the abbot himself compiled *CM* I,<sup>7</sup> and suggests, though on very slight grounds, that he may also have written *V*.<sup>8</sup>

Another chronicle, however, likewise written at St. Albans, and

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter referred to as *V*, or *V* 1 and *V* 2, when it is necessary to distinguish between the two parts; the kings, as O 1 and O 2 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Published by William Wats, 1639, as an appendix to his reprint of part of the *Chronica Majora*, London, 1640; again in 1641-40; 1644 (Paris); London, 1684-83-82. All references will be to the edition of 1640-39; but quotations from MS Nero D I, as Wats sometimes takes liberties with the text.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LUARD, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series (*CM*), 1882, VI, vii-x; RILEY, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, xi, xii.

<sup>4</sup> The only other MSS are Cotton Claudius E IV, fols. 84-97 (cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, ix-xi), and Vitellius A XX, fols. 67-70 (cf. MADDEN, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1886, I, xxiv n. i, and li n. 1). All contain matters relating almost entirely to the affairs of St. Albans. Nero D I and Claudius E IV were written in the scriptorium of St. Albans; Vitellius A XX consists of a copy of selections presented to the cell of St. Albans at Dunstable.

<sup>5</sup> Aside from the question of date, Paris misunderstands and wrongly emends *V*. Cf. LUARD, *CM*, I, lxxix, lxxx.

<sup>6</sup> It is quoted largely in the original text of the *Chronica Majora* upon which Paris and Wendover based their works, which could not have been written earlier than 1195-1214, because it also uses Comestor's *Historia Scholastica cum Allegoriis*, first brought to St. Albans and copied in the time of John de Cella. Cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 233; also LUARD *CM*, I, xxxii; SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 507); and HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series, 1862, I, 499.

<sup>7</sup> *CM*, II, x-xii; VII, ix-xii. The letters *CM* represent the text of PARIS as edited by LUARD in the Rolls Series. When the original chronicle is to be distinguished from the versions of WENDOVER and PARIS, I call it, as here, *CM* I.

<sup>8</sup> *CM*, I, xxxii, xxxiii.

preserved in the unique MS Cotton Julius D VII (fols. 10-33b),<sup>1</sup> forms a curious connecting link between *CM1* and *V*, suggests strongly that Abbot John may be the author of all three works, and gives information in regard to the character of the sources used in *V*.

That *J* is earlier than *CM1* appears from the fact that, while it declares and reveals acquaintance with the principal twelfth-century chroniclers of English history and with none of later date, it either shows ignorance or blunders in regard to many points for which *CM1*, followed by Wendover and Paris, became until modern times the chief authority.<sup>2</sup>

Of Offa it says:

*Solent autem de isto Offa multa narrari, que etiam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis. Ea tamen in cedula notauimus ut si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus.*

Again:

*Anno primo sequente occidit in campestri ut dicunt bello sanctum Ethelbrithum regem Westsaxonum, re quidem uera sed causa incerta. Eumque solum neuum glorie sue prehabite reliquit. Porro nec ipse diu super morte eius gauisus est. Nam anno abhinc tercio hoc est ab incarnatione domini DCCXCVI et ipse obiit, sepultusque est ut dicunt in Usa flumine iuxta Bedeford. Multa quidem et alia his eque commemoranda de uiro isto audiui, que cum ueriora esse constiterit, alias Deo largiente, explicabo.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter alluded to as *J*. Printed with many omissions by GALE in his *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, Oxford, 1691, III, 325-54, under the title *Chronica Joannis Wallingford*, although there is no reason for believing that John de Wallingford was the author. He owned the book (cf. rubric on fol. 1b); a drawing of him with his name and office (*infirmarius*) is on fol. 42b; while on fols. 112b-113b is an obituary list of the monastery from 1231 to 1258, with a rubric indicating that he kept the list: "Hic scribuntur nomina fratrum de professione sancti Albani defunctorum a susceptione fratris Johannis de Wallingford in eodem ordine, videlicet a die sanctorum Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, anno ab incarnatione domini MCC XXX primo." In 1258, in another hand occurs the notice of his death, with the addition, which may have misled Gale, "*sacerdos, dominus et scriptor huius libri*." As the MS is in several hands (cf., for instances, fols. 10a, 26a, 61a), *scriptor* cannot mean copyist; and as extracts from the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon are included (fols. 46b ff.), it cannot mean author of the whole. But a chronicle (agreeing in parts very closely with that published in the Rolls series under the name of John of Oxenedes), on fols. 61a-110a, appears to be in the same hand as the obituary, from which it is separated only by two blank ruled leaves, and as this chronicle stops abruptly in 1258, it was perhaps written or copied by Wallingford. It shows no resemblance to *J*. A rubric (fol. 46b) seems to indicate that the book is a collection from various sources: "*Prefaciuncula in cronicis fratris Johannis de Wallingford excerpta a cronicis diuersorum ystoriographorum*." Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lv n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This point will become clear in the discussion of the relationship between *J* and *CM1*. The MS was written before 1259.

<sup>3</sup> Fols. 13, 13b; GALE, III, 329, 530. I quote from the MS, because Gale sometimes prints wrongly.

These words can mean only that the stories alluded to were popular, much-repeated tales<sup>1</sup> (*solent . . . . narrari . . . . ut dicunt . . . .*), which the author took down from oral narration (*in cedula notauimus . . . . audiui*), that they were of a marvelous or at least apparently fictitious character (*que etiam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis*), and that the author intended to sift them and, as far as possible, verify them, with a view to embodying the results of his labor in a larger work (*ut si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus, . . . . que cum ueriores esse constiterit alias Deo largiente explicabo*).

Since both *J* and *V* were written by a monk of St. Albans at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, the latter at once suggests itself as the "*maiori operi*;" and a comparison of the only two passages in *J* that are detailed in regard to Offa, with the text of *V*, shows a strong probability that *V* is this work.

1. The only event in Offa's career treated at length in *J* is the translation of St. Alban and foundation of the abbey, to which about fourteen lines (in Gale) are given. Since *V* relates substantially the same facts as *J*, usually with similar phrases, drawn out to greater length, and with some differences in arrangement,<sup>2</sup> it is more reasonable to suppose that in *V* the author is working over his own material jotted down roughly in *J*, than that the resemblances and differences in the two passages are due to independent use of the same source by two writers, or to the working up of one man's materials by another; in other words, when we find two passages of approximately the same date, one of which reads like an elaborated version of the other, and when the author of the one states that he hopes to treat the subject more fully,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem, omnium fere conprovincialium assercio* (*V*, 32, ll. 10, 11).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, in *J*: "*accitoque Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo diuinam de martire transferendo pandit uoluntatem, ac Archiepiscopus assumptis secum Ceolwifo et Wnwonae Episcopis, magnaue multitudine clericorum diuersorum graduum, venit ad locum sanctum*"; and in *V*: "*accito Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo (cuius sedes apud Lichefeld ut predictum est nuper ab eodem rege fuerat constituta,) diuinam ei uoluntatem indicat de premissis. Tunc Archiepiscopus sepedictus, assumptis continuo secum Ceolwifo Lindesiensi, et Wnwonae Legrecestri Episcopis suis suffraganeis, cum innumera utriusque sexus, et diuerse etatis multitudine regi die sibi statuta, apud Uerolanium occurrerunt (sic).*"—GALE, III, 530, and *V*, 26, ll. 47-52.



the presumption is heavy in favor of a common authorship for the two.

2. More striking is the passage referring to Offa's tomb in the Ouse, not found elsewhere, except in works based upon *CM* or *V* itself.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the two descriptions is significant. *J* states that the king was buried *ut dicunt* in the Ouse near Bedford. *V* gives a more elaborate version of how *iuxta multorum opinionem* he died at *Offeleia* (Offley), and was buried at Bedford, adding:

Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem. omnium fere conprovincialium assercio quod capella prefata longo usu et uiolentia illius fluminis corrosa sit submersa atque eius rapacitate cum ipso regis sepulchro ad nichilum redacta, uel saltem, ut quamplurimi perhibent in medio fluminis alueo<sup>2</sup> . . . precipitata.

It is obvious that neither text borrows here from the other, and that the phrase *certe deprehendi* describes the relationship between the two.

If these two passages suggest a common authorship for *J* and *V*, *J* contains other allusions to the author's intention of writing a larger work,<sup>3</sup> which is once described as follows:

Nos autem eandem Historiam Deo commendamus, et prout ipse donauerit exsequemur, tantam ymaginem future edicionis et materiam hic prepingentes.<sup>4</sup>

These words must mean that *J* is only a rough preliminary sketch or outline for a chronicle. This opinion is confirmed by the arrangement of the matter and the appearance of the MS. It is closely written, much abbreviated, with little or no space

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 3, above, and p. 7, below.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 32, ll. 10-15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "*sed quia res se ingerit de gentis huius origine pauca prelibabo, pauca enim de ea prediximus, et multa si Deus annuat, dicturi sumus*" (*GALE*, III, 532); "*sed hec alias*" (*ibid.*, 539); "*que maiori opera conseruanda estimo*" (*ibid.*, 528).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 539. As the passage shows the author's knowledge of three important chroniclers of the twelfth century and his critical attitude toward them, it may be worth while to quote it at length:

"Successitque ei Ethelstanus, filius eius maior natu . . . de quo Galfridus Monemutensis quamuis inuidulos (*sic*) genti et gestis regum Anglorum esset, scribit quod primus de gente Saxonum diadema portauerit; quod et possit esse uerum, tamen credendum est inuidum magis prioribus regibus derogasse, quam Ealstanum laudasse. Nam et subsequenter historiam Anglorum tradit, Wilkelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Hunteduniensi in corde et corde locutus (*sic*), et uerendum est de eo ne disperdat Dominus labia dolosa: uerum quia uices interpretis se dicit exsequi utcumque excusari posset, si ad tempus Ealstani eius editor quem Britonem dicit perscripsisset. Nos autem," etc.

between words, with narrow margins and no division into years. Different kings and kingdoms are mentioned in the same paragraph, with small pretense at order. Long extracts from lives of saints are introduced without any connection whatever; for example, the life of St. Guthlac is written in blank spaces around parallel lists of the early kings, and, although the death of St. Kenelm is related at length in its proper place, another miracle is added in a space on the page dealing with Edmund Ironside.

The writing is much corrected, apparently both by the original scribe and by at least one other; and from fol. 27 to fol. 33b is on irregular scraps of parchment that look like trimmings of sheep-skin after the cutting out of perfect leaves.<sup>1</sup>

The character of the *Julius D VII* as a whole bears out the theory that it is a collection of notes or materials for a history. It consists of extracts from the works of Henry of Huntingdon, St. Bernard, and other writers, calendars, a map, stray drawings (much resembling in style those illustrating *V* in *Nero D I*), the chronicle which may be Wallingford's own, quotations (with variations) from the *Gesta Abbatum*, an obituary list, and various odds and ends.

Since *J* is clearly a preliminary sketch and definitely states the author's intention of writing a larger chronicle, and since *CM 1*, which arose at the same place and about the same time, shows many points of resemblance to *J*, the claim of this to be the work in question must be considered.

1. The fact that *J* shows the use of no authority unknown to *CM 1* might be due to their dependence upon the same library,<sup>2</sup> but the insertion in both chronicles of long accounts of the same saints, Guthlac, Kenelm, Neot, Edmund, and Dunstan, in neither case quoted from the other, but based on the same sources, and in *CM 1* more condensed, is significant. Since neither chronicle

<sup>1</sup> That the MS had become separated into two parts in Sir Robert Cotton's time is perhaps indicated by the fact that his autograph is on fol. 10a. But the collection was put together in the thirteenth century—by Wallingford most probably—as is indicated by a rubric on fol. 33b, not much later than the body of the MS, referring, for a continuation of the history, to fol. 64, which is in Oxened's (?) or Wallingford's (?) chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> During the period covered by *J* (449-1036), *CM 1* shows the use of only one or two unimportant additional works for English history, but of several important authors for continental history. This indicates perhaps that the chronicle had increased in scope beyond the original plan.

borrowed from the other, a natural explanation of the coincidence seems to lie in the hypothesis that the writer, who had copied long extracts in a rough draft, had condensed these materials when he came to insert them in a work of larger scope.<sup>1</sup>

2. The characteristics which Luard<sup>2</sup> observes in *CM1* (even after it has passed through the hands of Wendover and Paris) are found to a striking degree in *J*: (1) the same curious combination of apparent care and absurd blunders; (2) the same attempts to sift materials and combine authorities, resulting often in discrepancies and confusion; (3) the same mixture of history and legend. These qualities<sup>3</sup> seem to me to characterize peculiarly<sup>4</sup> the attempts of a historical writer to break fresh ground, and that *CM1* initiated a new school of chronicle-writing is certain.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Several small points that seem to show a consultation of the same authorities in regard to matters in which *J* and *CM* agree against the common opinion might be urged. I give two examples. The assertion that Alfred's youth was given up to luxury and vice is implied in several chronicles, but nowhere stated so definitely as in *J*. *CM*, however, adds to the conventional stories of Alfred's youth the distinct allusion to "libidinis incendiis," which agrees perfectly with the account given in *J*. Cf. *CM*, I, 412 n. 3, and GALE, III, 535. Again, the account of how Kenneth of Scotland received Lothian as a fief from King Edgar is particularly full in *J* and *CM*, and agrees in substance, though not in words. A possible indication of the date of *J* is in its assertion that the agreement with the Scotch king had held until "today;" in *CM* the corresponding phrase is "until the time of Henry II." Was *J* then written before the capture of William the Lion in 1174? Cf. GALE, 544, 545, and *CM*, I, 467, 468.

<sup>2</sup> *CM*, I, xxxiii, xli-xlvi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "ut in gestis Sancti Cuthberti legitur, sed fides historie communis habet nullum" (GALE, III, 540); "auctoritati factum relinquimus qua probatur" (*ibid.*); "Cane autem hic de historia Normannorum, que falso quidem suggerit" (*ibid.*); "sed multi alii historici ob auctoritatem Ealstani ad eum referunt, que ad eum constat non pertinere," (*ibid.*); "uerendum est de eo ne disperdat Dominus labia dolosa" (*ibid.*, 539); "ideo horum numeri annotationem, ut aliquantulum ceteris certiore, sequar. Nam aliorum prope usque ad Alfredum filium quartum Ethelwoldi numeri annotationem inueni fluctuantem et incertum, sed et ante hec multa in numeri annotatione relinquimus incerta" (*ibid.*, 529); "quod si cui hec non placet genealogie deductio, querat aliam, non enim ut autenticam eam proponimus, sed si alterutrum cogeret, potius inter apocrypha numerarem" (*ibid.*, 535); "alii uero aliter et forte melius huius gentis originem texunt" (*ibid.*, 532). Cf. also the quotations concerning Offa (p. 3, above). His blunders are too numerous to quote. The statement that Charlemagne conquered England (*ibid.*, 529), in addition to the mistakes about Offa and Alfred mentioned above (p. 7, n. 1), may suffice. The large admixture of legend is shown in the long extracts from the lives of saints. The author's bewilderment in his mass of material is indicated in "Nam rerum pelagus quis sequatur?" (*ibid.*, 532).

<sup>4</sup> Other points in Luard's characterization of the compiler of *CM1*, a tendency to rhetorical embellishment and to quotation from the classical poets, true of *V*, and to the use of the first person, true of both *J* and *V*, have been passed over, as not sufficiently distinctive. The tendency to repeat favorite expressions, very prominent in both *J* and *V*, is perhaps more important.

<sup>5</sup> I do not find that these three qualities apply to any other twelfth-century chronicle-writer in England. Henry of Huntingdon perhaps comes nearest, but does not show the same wide reading, particularly in hagiology. "Matthew of Westminster," indeed, in the thirteenth century shows many of the same peculiarities, but the first part of his work is based largely on Paris, and therefore on *CM1* (cf. LUARD, *Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 1890, I, xxxiv, xxxv).

3. The very discrepancies<sup>1</sup> among the many resemblances between the two works, when taken in connection with the character of *J*, are an additional argument for their common authorship. The original MS of *CM 1* is not known. The text, as we have it, has passed through two revisions, by Wendover and by Paris. There are resemblances enough in detail between *J* and *CM 1* to show a distinct relation between the two works; and while it is highly improbable that Paris or Wendover would have borrowed minute points from a chronicle so obviously imperfect as *J*, the general agreement of plan (*CM 1* is, of course, greatly extended) and resemblances in style and point of view are exactly what we should expect to find surviving, if *J* had been revised and rewritten, first by the original compiler, secondly by Wendover, and thirdly by Paris.

From the comparison, then, of *J*, *V*, and *CM*, it seems more reasonable to believe that *V* and *CM 1* represent the larger works foreshadowed in *J*, than that the author of *J* failed to carry out his purpose, while *V* and *CM 1*, agreeing in time and place with *J*, and showing the same mental and stylistic qualities, were compiled by different writers. It remains to consider the claims of Abbot John de Cella to be the author of the three works.

In favor of his authorship may be mentioned the following facts:

1. As Luard notes,<sup>2</sup> he was eminently fitted for such a task. He had been a student many years at Paris,<sup>3</sup> and was described by Matthew Paris as an Ovid in metrics, a Priscian in grammar, and a Galen in physic.<sup>4</sup>

2. He alone among the twenty-three abbots in the *Gesta* resigned the entire charge of the monastery in secular matters to

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it should be noted that *V* also is known to us only as it was copied under the direction of Paris, and may differ considerably from the original account. The rubrics certainly point to variations in the materials known to the rubricator. See pp. 35, 43, below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LUARD, *CM*, II, x, xi.

<sup>3</sup> Although the word *Cella* enters into various place names, the phrase *de Cella* may be the equivalent of *Cellensis*. Hence, Abbot John may have studied also at the famous monastery of Moutier-la-Celle in Champagne, of which Petrus *Cellensis* was abbot, who numbered among his pupils John of Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217. In a supposed quotation from the *Gesta Abbatum* in Cott. Jul. D VII the expression is expanded, however, to "litteratissimus in gramatica, Dialetica, Teologia, et eminens in phisica" (fol. 120b); hence, like Saxo, "Magister" John de Cella was "Grammaticus."

subordinates, "more scholarium, rei familiaris ignarus, studium, contemplationem, et orationum continuationem amplectens."<sup>1</sup> He thus had nineteen years of comparative leisure, even after he became abbot, in which to exercise his scholarly attainments.

3. The circumstances of the abbey in his time were such as would naturally suggest to a scholar the production of such a work as *V*. He himself by mismanagement had incurred a heavy debt in attempting to rebuild the west front of the church, and endeavored in every possible way to raise money to complete the undertaking.<sup>2</sup> What was more natural than that, while he was calling people's attention to the needs of the abbey, he should write out, or cause to be written, to rouse their interest, the wonderful stories that attended its foundation? That the chief purpose of *V* was to show the antiquity and importance of St. Albans cannot be doubted (see p. 12, below).<sup>3</sup>

4. Luard<sup>4</sup> notes that at the end of the year 1188, in MS Douce ccvii of Wendover (written late in the thirteenth century), occurs the rubric apparently contemporary: "Huc usque in libro Croni-corum Johannis abbatis;" and opposite this, in a later hand: "Usque hoc cronica Johannis Abbatis, et hic finis." A similar rubric, "Huc usque scripsit Cronica dñs Rogerus de Wendoure," occurs at the end of the year 1235; and there seems no reason for doubting that in the first case as in the second the note is an attribution of authorship. It is noteworthy, too, that the corresponding MS of Paris, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. xxvi,<sup>5</sup> ends at 1188—a fact that in this connection may mean that his original stopped at that point.

5. In the margin of *J* (fol. 14b) is written the famous Kenelm couplet, otherwise first quoted in *CM*.<sup>6</sup> This is in a different,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217, 218.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads: "fecitque prædicari per totam terram Sancti Albani et per plurimum Episcoporum Dioceses, transmissis reliquiis, et quodam clerico, nomine Amphibalo (quem Dominus quadriduanum, meritis Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali, a mortuis suscitaverat, ut miraculis Sanctorum ipsorum testimonium fide perhiberet oculata), non minimam pecuniam coacervavit."—*Gest. Abb.*, I, 219.

<sup>3</sup> It cost Abbot John a thousand marks to buy off the claim of King John to a certain jurisdiction over the abbey. This may have influenced the production of a work which insisted so strongly on ancient privileges and immunities. Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 235, 236, 241-43, and *V*, 29, ll. 38-49; 31, ll. 33-52.

<sup>4</sup> *CM*, II, ix-xi; VII, x.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lxxi, lxxii; also liv.

<sup>6</sup> *CM*, VII, x; I, p. 373.

though contemporary, hand, and is headed by the rubric: "Versus Abbatis Johannis de Sancto Albano de Sancto Kenelm martire." In connection with the facts that several couplets by Abbot John are quoted in the *Gesta Abbatum*,<sup>1</sup> that he seems to have been especially interested in St. Kenelm,<sup>2</sup> and that the Kenelm couplet in *CM* is introduced by the modest "quidam ait,"<sup>3</sup> instead of a poet's name or a laudatory phrase, the probability that Abbot John wrote both couplet and *CM* is increased.

6. John de Cella was born at Stodham (Studham) in Bedfordshire, "ex mediocri prosapia."<sup>4</sup> Who was more likely than a Bedfordshire man of humble origin to know a legend of the Ouse? The phrase "omnium fere conprouincialium assercio" (V, 32, l. 11) may include the author among the natives of Bedfordshire; it at least implies a wide acquaintance among them.<sup>5</sup>

The only objection<sup>6</sup>—and this Luard does not consider decisive<sup>7</sup>—to his authorship is the silence of Paris on that point. This can be met by the counter-objection that Paris, who was undoubtedly proud of his own achievement and jealous of his own fame,<sup>8</sup> was not likely to bring forward the name of the man on whose work his own was founded. A parallel case seems to be his treatment of "Adam the Cellarer," whose "roll" he is said, in a rubric

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, 244, 247.

<sup>2</sup> He prophesied his own death on St. Kenelm's day. Both *J* and *CM* manifest particular interest in this saint (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 249).

<sup>3</sup> So Henry of Huntingdon introduces his own verses. Cf. *Hist. Anglor.*, Rolls Series, 1879, pp. 11, 243, 246, 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217.

<sup>5</sup> An additional point in favor of his authorship mentioned by LUARD (*CM*, II, xi) is that *CM* inserts "apud Wallingford" into an account taken from Robert de Monte. But this might have been written by almost any monk of St. Albans, of which Wallingford was a cell, Abbot John certainly, as he had been prior there. The connection of both Abbot John de Cella and John de Wallingford, *infirmarius*, with the cell of Wallingford might help to account for the presence of *J* in MS Cott. Jul. D VII.

<sup>6</sup> A special objection to his authorship of *CM I* is an allusion in the year 1179 to an event that happened in 1215 (the year after the abbot's death); but, as LUARD observes (cf. *CM*, II, 313, and VII, xi), this has all the look of an interpolation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *CM*, II, xi, xii; VII, xi.

<sup>8</sup> Witness his introductions of his own name into the text (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 19), and the numerous rubrics in which it appears.

not written by himself in Nero D I, to have used in compiling the *Gesta Abbatum*. He, indeed, mentions Adam, but as *illiteratus*, and with no word of his roll. Nor does he make any mention of his indebtedness to Wendover.<sup>1</sup>

Various other reasons can be suggested to explain his silence. (1) In an ecclesiastical work, he may have considered his general laudation of John's Latin style sufficient. That this was the case is suggested by the fact that Abbot John's verse fares scarcely better than his prose, except that a few couplets are quoted. (2) In a time when there was small scruple against adopting the work of another without acknowledgment of indebtedness, it may not have occurred to him to mention Abbot John's name; or the abbot himself, a man famous for his humility, may have considered his work as belonging to the community—a common monastic attitude. (3) As Wendover is known to have begun his chronicle at St. Albans within a few years of Abbot John's death, it is very possible that he was appointed to revise and continue the work left unfinished; and that it is because *CM 1* was left unfinished and was so greatly worked over and extended by Wendover and Paris in turn, that we find many rubrics attaching the chronicle to their names and but one giving credit to the originator; in other words, by a natural process their greater fame would have obliterated his.

If the foregoing argument has shown that the most reasonable explanation of the relation between *J*, *V*, *CM 1*, and the known facts of Abbot John's life lies in the hypothesis that he was the author of these works, then we may proceed to the examination of the text *V*, in the belief that we are dealing with the work of a man of unusual education and ability, a man of humble origin, cosmopolitan by reason of a long stay on the continent, one who had read widely in historical works, but with small power of discrimination, and one who interested himself more or less in folk-lore; and finally, one who was deeply religious and interested in the welfare of his own abbey. These factors must certainly enter into the consideration of the materials that he used and his method of dealing with them.

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, xiv-xvi.



## II.

Of the two parts of *V*, the second, which is twice as long as the first, is obviously an attempt at a somewhat complete biography, while the first consists merely of two long stories, independent of each other in matter, different in style, and but slightly connected. These two parts are joined by a short paragraph of eighteen lines that relates each directly to the founding of St. Albans. The gist of it is: that as O1 had, through the habits of luxury and avarice that ruled him in his old age, failed to perform his vow to build the abbey,<sup>1</sup> the promise was handed down to each of his descendants until the time of Offa of Mercia,<sup>2</sup> who at last fulfilled it;<sup>3</sup> further, that, because of the neglect of O1 and his descendants, all the lands that he had conquered fell gradually away, so that they had to be won again by his descendant, O2.

From the fact that the two stories in *V1* have a very definite relation to *V2*, the first forming a parallel to similar achievements on the part of O2, the second a contrast greatly to O2's advantage, in that he fulfils the vow which his supposed ancestor made and failed to keep, it is clear that the history of O2 is the most important part of the narrative;<sup>4</sup> and also that the compiler's aim is to glorify him and through him the abbey.<sup>5</sup> His method of accomplishing this aim seems to be as follows:

1. He alleviates the sins with which on good historic evidence O2 is charged, in two ways: (1) by attributing these to his wife Cyneðryð, or his ancestor O1; (2) by representing them as atoned for.
2. He compares and contrasts him favorably with O1.

<sup>1</sup> "In eo multum redarguendus quod scenobium uotiuo affectu repromissum thesauris parcendo non construxit. Post victorias enim a Domino sibi collatas, amplexibus et ignavia necnon auaricie plus equo indulsit."—*V*, 10, ll. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 10, ll. 8-15, and 12, ll. 21-24.

<sup>3</sup> That the story of the broken vow gives a semblance of a far greater antiquity to the history of the abbey is true; but it is perhaps not possible to show that there was a recognition of this fact in the compiler's mind.

<sup>4</sup> In bulk it is two-thirds of the text.

<sup>5</sup> The biography begins with a description of his crippled state, his presentation in the temple, and an allusion to the broken vow of his ancestor; except for a short account of the disaster to his tomb, it ends with the founding of St. Albans. Nearly a third of its content is concerned with abbey matters.

It becomes necessary, then, to consider (1) how the compiler has dealt with his historic material in whitewashing his hero, and (2) to study in detail the parallel and contrast which he introduces into his work.

The two sins with which O2 is charged are avarice and bloodshed. Alcuin, his friend and contemporary, practically accuses him of both in a letter of admonition to his successor Coenulf.<sup>1</sup> In *V2* there is no word of O2's avarice. On the contrary, his generosity is insisted upon.<sup>2</sup> But O2's queen is described as *mulier auara*;<sup>3</sup> and O1, although he as well as O2 gave up to his men all the spoils of his victory,<sup>4</sup> by a slight inconsistency or a change of character, is represented as failing to build the monastery *thesauris parcendo*.<sup>5</sup>

The charge of shedding blood in wars of conquest is also emphasized by Alcuin<sup>6</sup> in writing of the death of Offa's son Ecgferp:

Non enim ill. nobilissimus iuuenis ex suis peccatis, ut reor, mortuus est; sed etiam paterni sanguinis ultio in filium usque redundavit. Nam, sicut scis optime, quam multum sanguinis effudit pater eius, ut filio regnum confirmaret. Sed hoc confirmatio non fuit regni sed destructio. The compiler, admitting this charge, "de peccatis omnibus precipue tamen de preliorum multorum commissione,"<sup>7</sup> represents his hero as making atonement, not only by the foundation of St. Albans, but also by a penitential pilgrimage to Rome.

As will appear later, in *V* alone is O2 said to have been ignorant of St. Ethelbert's murder, the blame being laid entirely upon his queen.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Si quid vero avare vel crudeliter gessit, hoc omnino tibi cavere necessarium esse agnosco."—JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Alcuini* (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, t. 6, Berlin, 1873), 353.

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmesbury's charge that Offa had robbed his monastery is perhaps meant to be counterbalanced in *V* by the list of his generous donations to St. Albans (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1887, I, 86). No doubt to this end is told the story of his magnificence or reckless extravagance in Flanders, by virtue of which he bought up land at the natives' own price to secure fodder for his horses (*V*, 23, ll. 43-57 and 29, ll. 1-3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *V*, 23, ll. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> "No quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur."—*V*, 4, ll. 11, 12.      <sup>5</sup> *V*, 10, ll. 5, 6.

<sup>6</sup> JAFFÉ, 350; cf. also: "Non enim sine causa nobilissimus filius illius tam parvo tempore vixit super patrem. Saepe merita patris vindicantur in filios."—*Ibid.*, 353.

<sup>7</sup> *V*, 29, ll. 52-54.

<sup>8</sup> Even his delay in fulfilling the promise made in his name is apologized for: "... de uoto ... cuius executionem Regina Quendreda iam defuncta, nequiter retardando impe-

Further, whole sections are given to accounts of his piety, humility, humanity, and generosity,<sup>1</sup> and stress is laid upon a quality not so much as hinted at in any other work, his *supereminentem sanctitatem*.<sup>2</sup>

Since it is clear that the compiler is disposed to take liberties with history for his own end, it is necessary to examine in detail the parallel which he has drawn between the two kings, with a view to determining whether (1) he has deliberately combined sagas of O1 with legends of O2; or (2) has falsified the history of O2 by incorporating into it matter relating solely to O1; or (3) has found the two figures completely confused, and in his endeavor to disentangle them has hit upon the parallel and contrast; in other words, whether the popular imagination in the twelfth century had already made a composite of the two Offas, *V* representing an attempt to restore each to its place; or distinct stories were told about one or both, while *V* represents an attempt to combine them for a special purpose.

### III.

The first step in the investigation is to examine the parallels, which consist of phrases as well as situations and events.<sup>3</sup>

#### *V1*

Warmund's fame and connection with Warwick (1, 1-6).

Qui usque ad annos seniles absque liberis extitit, preter unicum filium, quem, ut estimabat, regni sui heredem et successorem puerilis debilitatis incomodo laborantem constituere non ualebat. Licet enim idem unicus filius eius, Offa uel

#### *V2*

Natus est igitur memorato Tuinfred et qui de stemati regum fuit filius, videlicet Pineredus, usque ad annos adolescentie inutilis, poplitibus contractis, qui nec oculorum uel aurium plene officio naturali fungeretur. Unde patri suo Tuin-

diuerat."—*V*, 26, ll. 17, 18. Again O2 says in a prayer: "a coniugis mee laqueis miser. corditer ac potenter liberasti."—*V*, 26, l. 21. SHARON TURNER noted how the adventures of Cynedryð were introduced in order to lay the blame of the murder upon her (*Hist. of England*, London, 1839, I, 410).

<sup>1</sup> *V*, 19, ll. 19-52; 31, ll. 13-18.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 21, l. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Since the account in *V1* is the fuller, it has been made the basis, and is printed nearly entire to the end of the battle, except the parts where the narratives diverge, which are summed up in English. When *V1* gives details of a parallel situation not found in *V2*, the text is continued across the page, being useful for future reference. The accounts in *V2* have been in some cases taken out of their proper context, in order to bring the parallels together.

## V1

Offanus nomine, statura fuisset procerus, corpore integer, *et elegantissime forme iuuenis existeret, permansit tamen a natiuitate uisu priuatus usque ad annum septimum. Mutus autem et uerba humana non proferens usque ad annum etatis sue tricesimum. Huius debilitatis incomodum non solum rex sed etiam regni proceres supra quam dici potest moleste sustinuerunt* (1, 6-16).

Riganus plots to be appointed heir, but, repulsed by Warmund, raises an army. Warmund refuses to fight and calls a council (1, 16-27 and 2, 1-8).

Dum igitur tractarent in commune per aliquot dies, secum deliberantes instantissime necescitatis articulum, affuit inter sermocinantes natus et unigenitus regis, eo usque elinguis *et absque sermone, sed aure purgata singulorum uerba discernens. Cum autem patris senium et se ipsum ad regni negocia quasi inutilem et minus efficacem despici et reprobari ab omnibus perpenderet, contritus est et humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem; et exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi eius, et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo. Et quia uerbis non poterat, Deo affectu intrinseco precordialiter suggerebat ingemiscens reponensque lacrimabilem quere-*

## V2

*fredo et matri sue Marcelline oneri fuit non honori, confusioni et non exultacioni. Et licet unicus eis fuisset mallent prole caruisse quam talem habuisse* (10, 23-27).

Tuinfred and Marcella renew the vow that O I had made to found an abbey, in the name of their son, if he should be healed. The tyrant Beormred, fearing the nobility of royal descent in his kingdom, endeavors to be rid of them; but Tuinfred and his family escape (10, 27-48).

Puerum autem Pinefredum spreuit nec ipsum querere ad perdendum dignabatur, reputans eum inutilem *et ualetudinarium. Fugientes igitur memoratus Tuinfredus et uxor eius et familia a facie persequentis, sese in locis tucioribus receperunt ne generali calumpnie inuoluerentur. Quod comperiens Pinefredus adolescens quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se; et compagibus neruorum laxatis et miraculose protensis, sese de longa desidia redarguens, fecit alices, brachia crura pedes extendendo* (10, 48-54).

## V1

lam coram ipso orabat ut a Spiritu sancto reciperet consolationem a patre luminum fortitudinem et a filio patris unigenito sapientie salutaris donatium, in breui igitur contriti cordis uota prospiciens, is cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, resoluit os adolescentis in uerba discreta et manifeste articulata. Sicque de regni principatu tumide et minaciter contra se et patrem suum perstreptentes subito et ex insperato alloquitur (2, 8-21).

O makes a long speech claiming the throne. Warmund girds him with a sword, and he distinguishes himself in manly exercises. Preparations are made on both sides for the battle (2, 21-57 and 3, 1-5).

ore facundo

sermone rethorico  
uultu sereno (2, 29).

## V2

O excels all others in courage and is called by the Mercians the second Offa, instead of Pinefred; and, because like O 1 he is favored of God, is chosen to lead them against Beormred, who now repents having spared him (10, 57 and 11, 1-9).

Et aliquociens oscitans, cum loqui conaretur, solutum est uinculum lingue eius, et loquebatur recte uerba proferens ore facundo promptius articulata. Quid plura? De contracto, muto et ceco fit elegans corpore, eloquens sermone, acie perspicax oculorum (10, 54-57).

## V1

Congregato itaque utrobique copiosissimo et formidabili nimis exercitu, parati ad congressum (3, 6, 7).

## V2

Congregato igitur utrobique exercitu copiosissimo, pugnam cruentissimam inierunt: hinc rex Beormredus cum suis complicitibus, inde Offa adolescens strenuissimis cum suis Mercii sibi indissolubiliter adherentibus (11, 11-13),

## V2

Conuocatis igitur uniuersis officium militare sibi debentibus, regem Cantuariensem uel Kentensem hostiliter aggreditur. Cui accurrunt alii reges memorati regi Offe rebelles in eorum adiutorium (15, 35-37).

## V1.

fixerunt tentoria e regione, nichilque intererat nisi fluuius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat. Et aliquandiu hinc inde meticulosi et consternati rapidi fluminis alueum interpositum, qui uix erat homini uel equo transmeabilis, transire distulerunt. Tela tamen sola cum crebris comminacionibus et conuiciis transuolarunt. Tandem indignatus Offa et egre ferens probrose more dispendia, electis de exercitu suo robustioribus et bello magis strenuis, quos etiam credebatur fideiiores, subitus et improuisus flumen raptim pertransiens, facto impetu uehementi et repentino, hostes ei obuiam occurrentes preoccupatos tamen circa ripam fluminis, plurimos de aduersariorum exercitu contriuit et in ore gladii trucidauit. Primosque omnes tribunos et primicerios potenter dissipauit. Cum tamen sui commilitones forte uolentes prescire in Offa preuio Martis fortunam, segniter amnem transmearent, qui latus suum tenebantur suffulcire et potius circumuallando roborare, (et) resumpto spiritu uiuidiore, reliquos omnes hinc inde ad modum nauis uelificantis et equora uelociter sulcantis, impetuosis diuisit, ense terribiliter fulminante et hostium cruore sepius inebriato, donec sue omnes acies ad ipsum illese et indempnes transmearent. Quo cum peruenirent sui commilitones, congregati circa ipsum dominum suum exercitum magnum et fortem conflauerunt (3, 7-22).

Duces autem contrarii exercitus, sese densis agminibus et consertis aciebus uolenter opponunt aduentantibus, et congressu inito cruentissimo acclamatum est utrobique et exhortatum (3, 23-25).

pugnam cruentissimam inierunt (11, —).

suos exhortabatur dicens (11, 17).

—oppositum exercitum potenter et audacter \* \* \* \* \* inuadit et dissipatis obstantibus uniuersis bellum inchoat cruentissimum . . . . (15, 37-39).

## V1

ut resagatur pro capite et certamen pro sua et uxorū suarū et lib-

## V2

O nobiles commilitones non alienigene sed indigene, non amore pecunie sed libertatis, uobis debite michi coniuncti, qui me super uos elegistis; et non ego ad hunc apicem me ingessi. Expergiscimini. Res uest-

## V2

O consortes, amici et commilitones mī, confusionis uel glorie mee consortes, quid hucusque pueriliter hostibus publicis allusistis? Numquid hic simultas latitat? Ubinam Merciorum probitas fre-

## V1

*erorum suorum et possessionum liberatione* (3, 25, 26).

*ineant iustissimum, auxilio diuino protegente* (3, 26, 27).

*Perstrepunt igitur tube cum lituis, clamor exhortantium, equorum hinnitus, morientium et uulneratorum gemitus, fragor lancearum, gladiatorum tinnitus, ictuum tumultus aera perturbare uidebantur* (3, 27-29).

*Aduersarii tandem Offe legiones deiciunt et in fugam dissipatas conuertunt. Quod cum videret Offa strenuissimus et ex hostium cede eruentus, hausto spiritu alacriori, in hostes more leonis et leone sublatis catulis, irrui-*

## V2

*tra agitur. Quid pigritantes fatigamini? Sequimini me preuium. Ecce prelii negotium finem expectat adoptatum. Sol iam uergit in occasum. Nunquid in tenebris quas desiderant manus nostras euadent hostes nostri? Hucusque prosperatum est opus Martium feliciter ex parte nostra. Incepta uiriliter prosequimini* (11, 18-23),

*in causa sua iustissima protegente* (11, 42).

*Sese igitur ad inuicem clamor exhortantium ascendit ad sidera, puluis aera perturbat, fragor hastarum tinnitus gladiatorum, gemitus uulneratorum, tubarum et lituorum clangor, ictuum strepitus repetitorum corda potuit exterruisse magnanimatorum* (11, 26-29).

*. . . . et ipso preuiio et densam aciem hostium ad instar tellurem succantis hinc inde dissipat aduersarios et obstantes prosternendo* (11, 24, 25).

## V3

*quenter experta? Sequimini me preuium et Kentensem proditorem in spiritu furoris nostri et impetu repentino adeamus uniuersi, et eius miseram animam nichil aliud pro meritis expectantem in Tartara detrudamus* (15, 44-49).

*Unde equorum et armorum et armatorum tubarum et lituorum strepitus horribilis aciesque sese glomeratim comprimunt ad nubes ascendere uidebatur. Et timor qui super constantissimos cadere poterat corda concutit intuentium* (15, 39-42).

*. . . . nec eum acies interposite quin turmas densissimas dissiparet et uias latas aperiret retardare potuerunt. Uibrata igitur*



V1	V2	V2
truculenter, gladium suum cruore hostili inebriando. Quod cum uiderent trucidandi, fugitui et meticulosi, pudore confusi reuersi sunt super hostes; et ut famam redimerent ferociore in obstantes fulminant et debacantur (3, 29-34).	Quem Merciorum prestanciores a tergo et uestigio subsequentes uiam aperiunt laciorem (11, 25, 26).	hasta cruentata (15, 51-53). ... ecce acies Merciorum inuictissima ad instar torrentis saxa rotantis irruit in obstantes (16, 13, 14).
Multoque tempore truculenter nimis decertatum est et utrobique suspensa est uictoria; tandem post multorum ruinam, hostes fatigati pedem retulerunt ut respirarent et pausarent post conflictum (3, 35-37).	Decertantibusque utrimque uiriliter partibus ex aduerso ceciderunt quamplures exanimati. Multi quoque letaliter uulnerati elapsi sunt, qui cito postea miserabiliter expirant. Tandem suspensa diu uictoria (11, 13-15).	Congressum utrobique grauiter et  suspensa est uictoria (15, 42, 43).

## V1

Similiter etiam et exercitus Offani. Quod tamen moleste nimis tulit Offanus cuius sanguis in uclionem estuabat; et indefessus propugnator cessare erubescibat. Hic casu Offe obuian duo filii diuitis illius qui regnum patris eius sibi attemptauit usurpare, nomen primogenito Brutus et iuniori Sueno. Hii probra et uerba turpia in Offam irreuerenter ingererunt, et iuueni pudorato in conspectu exercituum non minus sermonibus quam armis molesti extiterunt. Offa igitur magis lacessitus, et calore audacie scintillans, et iracundia usque ad fremitum succensus, in impetu spiritus sui in eosdem audacter irruit. Et eorum alterum, uidelicet Brutum, unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono craneum usque ad cerebri medullam perforauit, et in morte singultantem sub equinis pedibus<sup>1</sup> potenter precipitauit. Alterum uero, qui hoc uiso fugam iniit, repentinus insequens uulnere letali sauciatum contempsit et prostratum. Post hec deseuiens in ceteros contrarii exercitus duces, gladius Offe quicquid obuiam habuit prosternendo deuorauit, exercitu ipsius tali exemplo recencius in hostes insurgente et iam gloriosius triumphante. Pater uero predictorum iuuenum, perterritus et dolore intrinseco saucia-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "animas cum sanguine sub equinis pedibus miserabiliter eructantes" (V, 11, 30, 31); also, "extremum spiritum sub equinis pedibus exalauit" (V, 16, 1, 2).

tus, subterfugiens amnem oppositum nitebatur pertransire; *sed interfectorum sanguine torrens fluuius, eum loricatum et armorum pondere grauatum et multipliciter fatigatum, cum multis de suo exercitu simili incomodo prepeditis, ad ima submersit; et sine uulneribus miseras animas exalarunt proditores toti posteritati sue probra relinquentes. Annis autem a Rigano ibi submerso sorciebatur uocabulum et Riganburne ut facti uiuat perpetuo memoria nuncupatur.*

Reliqui autem omnes de exercitu Rigani, qui sub ducatu Mitunni regebantur, in abissum desperationis demersi, et timore effeminati, cum eorum duce in quo magis Riganus confidebat, in noctis crepusculo trucidati cum uictoria gloriosa campum Offe strenuissimo in nulla parte corporis sui deformiter mutilato nec *eciam* uel letaliter uel periculose uulnerato, licet ea die multis se letiferis opposuisset periculis, reliquerunt. Sicque Offe circa iuuentutis sue primicias a Domino data est uictoria in bello nimis ancipiti ac cruentissimo et inter alienigenas, uirtutis et industrie sue nomen celebre ipsius uentilatum, et odor longe lateque bonitatis ac ciuilitatis, nec non et strenuitatis eius circumfusus, nomen eius ad sidera subleuauit. Porro in crastinum post uictoriam, hostium spolia interfectorum et fugitiuorum magnifice contempnens, nec sibi uolens aliquatenus usurpare ne quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur, militibus suis stipendiariis et naturalibus suis hominibus, precipue hiis quos nouerat indigere, liberaliter dereliquit. Solos tamen magnates quos ipsemet in prelio ceperat, sibi retinuit incarcerationandos, redimendos, uel iudicialiter puniendos. Iussitque ut interfectorum duces et principes quorum fama titulos magnificauit, et precipue eorum qui in prelio magnifice ac fideliter se habuerant, licet ei aduersarentur, seorsum honorifice intumulerentur, factis eis obsequiis cum lamentacionibus. Exercitus autem popularis cadauera in arduo et eminenti loco ad posteritatis memoriam tradi iussit sepulture ignobiliori. Vnde locus ille hoc nomine Anglico Qualmhul, a strage uidelicet, et sepultura interfectorum merito meruit intitulari. Multorum *eciam* et magnorum lapidum super eos struem exercitus Offe uoce preconia iussus congessit eminentem. Totaque circumiacens planes (*sic*) ab ipso cruentissimo certamine et notabili sepultura nomen et titulum indelebilem est sortita; et Blodiweld a sanguine interfectorum denominabatur (3, 38-57, and 4, 1-24).

## V1

Pater uero Warmundus qui sese receperat in locis tucioribus rei euentum expectans *sed* iam fausto nuncio certificatus comperiensque et securus de carissimi filii sui uictoria cum ingenti leticia ei procedit obuius. Et in amplexus eius diu-

## V2

Patri igitur aduentanti occurrit Offa triumphator magnificus et in mutuos

## V1

tissime commoratus conceptum interius de filii sui palma gaudium tegere non uolens set nec ualens huius cum lacrimis exultacionis prorupit in vocem. Euge fili dulcissime" . . . . (4, 26-30).

Quamobrem in presenti accipe quod tuis meritis exigentibus debetur eciam si filius meus non esses et si mihi iure hereditario non succederes (4, 48, 49).

. . . . Vt a curis et secularibus sollicitudinibus quibus discerpor liberatus precibus uacem et contemplacioni (4, 53, 54).

. . . . fame tue magnitudo per orbem uniuersum dilatabitur et felix suscipiet incrementum (5, 23, 24).

. . . . filius deuotus et mansuetus  
. . . . grates rettulit accumulatas  
(5, 26-28).

This comparison shows the following results:

1. The miracle in V2 is enhanced by an exaggeration of the previous physical defects; but the time of its operation is left vague. Apparently it occurs some years after the renewal of the vow, and not immediately as in V1.

2. The first situation is distinctly different in each case: in V1 the rightful heir claims and wins his throne, overcoming a would-be usurper; in V2 a boy of royal birth, but not heir to the throne, is elected because of his achievement in driving out the tyrant who oppressed the country.

3. The single combat of O1 with two enemies is not paralleled in V2; although O2 fights alone with the tyrant of Kent, the circumstances and language are different.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Only one phrase, and that not noteworthy, is common to the two passages: *sub equinis pedibus*.

## V2

ruentes sese piis lacrimis et letis fletibus irroarunt. Et singultibus sermonem prorumpentibus ait pater filio: O fili, unice fili, fili genealis . . . .

accipe hereditatem tuam comitatum meum.

Quia et si filius meus non esses hec et plura pro meritorum retributione promeruisti . . . .

. . . . Ego iam delibor . . . .

precibus et contemplacioni cum uxore mea de cetero quiescis incumbam (11, 51-56, and 12, 1-3).

Absit hoc pater mi uenerande ut dum uitales auras hauseris status uestre dignitatis in aliquo me uiuente mutiletur immo potius felix suscipiet incrementum (12, 6-8).

4. The scale of the narrative in *V1* is much larger than in *V2*, as five pages to two:

In *V1* 65 lines give the initial situation, O1's first speech and the miracle; 24, the preparations for the battle; 74, the battle itself; 61, the meeting of father and son, and Warmund's speech; and 31, Warmund's death and a summary of the situation before O1's marriage—255 in all.

In *V2* 40 lines give the situation including the presentation in the temple, the miracle, and the likeness to O1; 32, the battle; and 33, the speeches of Tuinfred and O2, and O2's election to the throne—105 in all.

5. The verbal resemblances are confined chiefly to the battle accounts:<sup>1</sup> about 11 lines (out of 32) of the battle with Beormred, and 7 (out of 24) of the battle at Otford, showing close resemblances to the battle in *V1*.

6. A phrase is rarely repeated with exactness, more often with slight changes such as (a) construction: *ut res agatur* = *res vestra agitur*; (b) order: *vulneratorum gemitus* = *gemitus vulneratorum*; (c) use of synonyms: *fragor lancearum* = *fragor hastarum*; (d) context: see pp. 17, 18; (e) combination of these various differences: *miseras animas exalarunt* = *animas cum sanguine . . . miserabiliter eructantes* = *miseram animam eructans* = *extremum spiritum . . . exalauit*.

7. In *V1* the battle is definitely localized and told with distinctive details; in *V2* the battle against Beormred is not localized and shows no peculiar features; Feldhard is quite general; Otford shows only the definite feature mentioned before, the death of the tyrant of Kent; and Bensington is scarcely unlike the others, although it is a siege.

The first point to be determined is the historic evidence for this account of the early life of O2.

1. Of his deformity and subsequent cure there is elsewhere no trace; and it should be noted that it is this very fact, with its biblical presentation in the temple, that is especially connected with the foundation of St. Albans, hence historically untrustworthy.

<sup>1</sup> The narratives of Feldhard and Bensington have only a phrase or two in common with *V1*.

That the account in *V1* is the original of that in *V2* is then probable because of the exaggeration of *V2* and its connection with St. Albans, and because O2's resemblance to his ancestor in this respect is insisted upon.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the miraculous element will be discussed more particularly in connection with the compiler's use of his material.

2. Of the battle with Beormred there is some historic evidence. The *Saxon Chronicle* says: "Beornræd feng to rice & lytle hwile heold & ungefealice,"<sup>2</sup> while the Northumbrian *Continuation of Bede*<sup>3</sup> implies a battle in the statement that Offa: "fugato Beornredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quæsiuit gladio."<sup>4</sup>

3. Since the battle of Feldhard is not mentioned elsewhere, and in *V2* no definite details are given, while the assertion that by it O2 conquered the East Anglians does not agree with the later statement that he annexed East Anglia only after the murder of St. Ethelbert, and since the battle against Beormred, which is confirmed by other authority, is nowhere localized, and Feldhard is an English name, it is possible that it may in reality belong to the victory over Beormred. The battles of Otford and Bensington are barely mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle* (an. 773, 777); but Henry of Huntingdon adds "clade autem horrenda utrinque peracta" to his mention of the former. It is possible that a few details of this battle may have lingered in the popular memory, or, as Arnold thinks, they may have been preserved in a St. Albans Chronicle since lost;<sup>5</sup> but there is no trace of a trustworthy historic account of any of these battles.

4. The additional details in *V2*, in regard to Beormred's oppression, the exile of O2's parents, his own election to the throne, are probable enough, but unsupported by evidence.

<sup>1</sup>"Rex igitur Offa secundus, primo similis, in omnibus agendis, primo studuit conformari" (13, 24, 25); "Ueruntamen memorie reducentes euentum Offo magni, qui in tenera etate penitus erat inutilis, et postea, Deo propicio penitus sibi restitutus, mirabili strenuitate omnes suos edomuit aduersarios" (10, 27-30); . . . "Unde ipsi Mercii, secundum Offam, et non Pinefredum, iam nominantes quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis Warmundi ceperunt ipsi quasi Domino uniuersaliter adherere" (II, ll. 2-4).

<sup>2</sup>An. 755 (= 757).

<sup>3</sup>An. 757 (STEVENSON, *Ven. Bedae Op.*, London, 1841, II, 238).

<sup>4</sup>Simeon of Durham (an. 769) states that one "Earnred tyrannus," whom Hinde inclined to identify as the Beornræd of the *Chronicle* (*Sym. Dun. Opera*, Surtees Soc., 1868, p. 123 n.), was killed at the burning of Catterick. In *CM*, an. 769, he is called Beornred.

<sup>5</sup>*Hist. Anglor.*, p. 126 n. a.

Tuinfred's announced purpose of retiring into the monastery of St. Albans when it should be founded is more suspicious.

Since there is no historic basis for the account of O2's youth, and almost no details are known of his early wars, and since in *V1* the narrative contains details at once peculiar to itself and characteristic of Old English literature, while in *V2* the description shows a strong likeness in language to *V1* without definite details, we may conclude, I think, that the compiler used in the case of *V1* an episode which he believed to be so clearly attached to O1 that he could not suppose it to belong to O2; hence, knowing several points of likeness between the two careers, he hit upon the expedient of the parallel. That this is the result of deliberate intention is clear from the fact that these close resemblances<sup>1</sup> do not occur in other parts where the situations are similar;<sup>2</sup> but whether the compiler has drawn upon his own text of *V1* in the case of *V2*, or has returned to his original, I find it impossible to decide. That the slight changes might be due in part to carelessness, in part to some difference in context, is evident; and the few apparent expansions in *V2* may as easily be due to rhetorical instinct as to a return to the original.

The possible source or sources for this part of *V1* are native tradition,<sup>3</sup> oral or written, and the Danish versions of Svenö and Saxo. The compiler himself gives little satisfactory evidence on this point. He says in his opening sentence:

*Inter Occidentalium Anglorum reges illustrissimos precipua commendacionis laude celebratur Rex Warmundus ab hiis qui Historias Anglorum non solum relatu proferre set eciam scriptis inserere consueuerant.*<sup>4</sup>

These words, when taken in connection with the description, "patris sui magnifici Warmundi, cuius mores tractatus exigit speciales,"<sup>5</sup> seem to imply, however, that he knew somewhat

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the author shows a tendency occasionally to repeat a descriptive phrase in a different context—characteristic also of *J* and *CM*—does not affect this point.

<sup>2</sup> For example, not in the Welsh wars of O2.

<sup>3</sup> *TRIVET's Constance*, which, as will appear later, is closely akin to the second part of *V1*, claims as source unknown ancient Saxon chronicles (*Orig. and Anal.*, Chaucer Soc., p. 3, ll. 6, 7)—*les Aunciene Cronikes de sessounz*. He also quotes an English sentence of a date not much earlier than his own, p. 19, ll. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *V*, 1, ll. 1-4.

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 5, ll. 55, 56. In *Ynglinga-tal* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 250, l. 161) is mentioned *Goðræðr inn Geofögláti* (*magnificent*); *magnifici* here may represent an alliterating epithet.

extensive accounts of Warmund's deeds, some of them told orally, and therefore calling for "speciales tractatus," others written down in certain "Historias Anglorum."<sup>1</sup>

These statements, together with the undoubted early existence of English versions, and the claims in *J* that many oral traditions were known about Offa of Mercia, create a presumption in favor of the use of English materials, unless unmistakable signs of influence from the Danish accounts appear.

It is necessary then (1) to ascertain what elements in *V1* are found or suggested in the oldest English versions of the saga; (2) to compare *V1* with the accounts of Svenno and Saxo for possible traces of borrowing; (3) to study the text itself for marks of its origin.

The allusions in Old English literature consist of *Widsið*, 35-45, and *Beowulf*, 1931-62.

*Widsið* reads:

Offa weold Ongle, Alewih Denum;  
se wæs þāra manna mōdgast ealra;  
no hwæpre he ofer Offan eorlscipe fremede,  
ac Offa geslōg ārest monna  
cniht wesende cynerica mæst;  
nænig efeneald him eorlscipe māran  
on orette; āne sweorde  
merce gemærde wið Myrgingum  
bi Fifeldore, hēoldon forð sippān  
Engle and Swāfe, swā hit Offa geslōg.

The phrases *cniht wesende*, *geslōg* . . . *cynerica mæst*, *nænig efeneald*, *āne sweorde* seem to allude unmistakably to the winning of a great kingdom by a young hero in single combat;<sup>2</sup> and *Fifeldor* has been identified by Grimm with the Eider.<sup>3</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> Although Warmund is but a poor figure in *V*, the allusions to him imply that he was a great hero whose deeds were familiar. The description of his funeral rites, "lamentaciones mensurnas cum magnis eiulatibus lacrimis et specialibus planctibus prout moris tunc erat principibus magnificis lugubriter pro tanto funere continuauit" (*V*, 5, ll. 48-50), suggests *Beowulf*, 3148-82; and implies some knowledge of ancient laments, though not necessarily in connection with Warmund.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MÜLLENHOFF, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Altert.*, XI, 284-88, and *Beowulf*, 74; ETTMÜLLER, *Alt nord. Sagenschatz* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 133; MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volkspos* (Kiel, 1883), pp. 30, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Myth.* (ed. MEYER, Berlin, 1875), I, 198.



is here no trace of a wonderful awakening and nothing to show that the combat was of one against two.

*Beowulf*, 1931-62, treats chiefly of O1's wife, but ll. 1957-62, must be considered in connection with *Widsið*:

Forðām Offa wæs,  
geofum ond gūðum gār-cēne man,  
wīde geweorðod; wīsdōme hēold  
ēðel sinne. Þonon Eomær wōc  
hæledum tō helpe, Hem[m]inges mæg,  
nefa Garmundes, niða cræftig.

In l. 1960, although the reading *Eomær* seems, for the sake of the alliteration, to have been finally adopted instead of the MS *geomor*, there is still something to be said in favor of the latter.

1. The first half-line has the minimum number of syllables, and it is possible that the alliterative word may have been accidentally omitted. A clear case of this is l. 586: "fāgum sweordum (nō ic pæs [fela] gylpe)." <sup>1</sup>

2. In the MS (fol. 176a, Zupitza, 173<sup>r</sup>) there is a space for five letters between *hēold* and *ēðel*. Zupitza says merely that a blank is left "on account of the parchment being very thin." <sup>2</sup> He does not add that the thinness is due to erasure on the *hēold-ēðel* side; but, although there are no traces of letters, it is clear that the parchment has been scraped or cut. <sup>3</sup> It is possible that a wart or lump has been removed; but the state of the parchment much resembles—except that it is a trifle smoother—that on fol. 132a (l. 20) *sceal . . . (.)uma*, where bits of the lost letters are still visible. On fol. 132a and again on fol. 154a, where letters are still visible, the instrument used for scraping has produced here and there the transparency which is so marked a feature of the gap on fol. 176a; but in l. 1960 there is no trace of writing. We

<sup>1</sup>Of other cases: in two (389, 390) two half-lines seem to be omitted; in four (62, 240, 1803, 2792) a single half-line; in seven (149, 1329, 1372, 2488, 3000, 3066, 3101) the line is also too short metrically; in four (586, 954, 1174, 2139) the lines are possible metrically, although 954 and 1174 need the alliterative word to complete the meaning.

<sup>2</sup>*Beowulf*, E. E. T. S., 1882, p. 90. Kemble (*Beowulf*, I, 136), inserts dots. Grein-Walker observes merely, "gap or erasure."

<sup>3</sup>Dr. Furnivall thinks that erasure is certain, but that it is not possible to decide conclusively whether it was the removal of a word or of a defect in the material. In favor of the latter may be urged the greater smoothness in l. 1960 (but it is not perfectly smooth); on the other hand, the size and shape of the bare mark are very similar to the space in l. 20.

may hold (1) that the scribe considered the place too thin to write upon (as Zapitza seems to imply); or (2) that he blundered, erased, and forgot to insert the correct word; or (3) that he wrote the passage correctly and afterwards erased the right word, thinking it to be a blunder.

Against (1) may be urged the fact that he did not hesitate to write on the reverse side of the parchment, the letters being plainly visible through it. It is far more likely that he would have written along continuously on 176*a*, and then, if he found the letters visible on *b*, have omitted to write over them, than that he should have skipped the weak place on *a* and then have written across it on *b*. It is barely possible that he forgot the erasure; but the parchment is obviously quite as frail on *b*. It is not necessary to decide between (2) and (3), as both imply that a word—and from its position, the alliterative word—is missing. But the size and shape of the thin place favor (2) and suggest especially that the word, if begun, ended in a blot. The space between *hēold* and *ēdel* is almost exactly the same as in l. 1110 (fol. 154*a*), where *gearu* (carried over from 1109) is scratched out, but still decipherable; hence, the missing word may have been *gearu* (*o*), *geare*, *gēara*; or perhaps better, when taken in connection with the *circa iuuentutis sue primicias* of *V* (see p. 20, above), and the *cniht wesende* of *Widsið*, *geong*.<sup>1</sup> The passage would then read: "held with wisdom in his youth, his kingdom whence he arose to the help of men," etc.

3. The word *gēomor* answers perfectly to Saxo's description of Uffo's youth:

Siquidem ab ineunte etate numquam lusus aut ioci consuetudinem prebuit, adeoque humane delectacionis uacuus fuit, ut laborum continenciam iugi silencio premeret et seueritatem oris a ridendi prorsus officio temperaret.<sup>2</sup>

It also describes *V1*: "Cum autem patris senium *et* se ipsum . . .

<sup>1</sup> KEMBLE had the gap in mind when he suggested the reading *geard-ēdel* (*Beowulf*, II, Appendix, l. 3915); BACHLECHNER obviously not, when he emended to *ēdel-geard*; but neither word is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER. I had thought of *geong* as suiting the context before I observed the gap in the MS, which it exactly fits. In l. 20 (fol. 132*a*) the gap is wider by exactly one letter, and the accepted emendation is [*geong p*]uma. But the shape of the thin place in l. 1960 shows that the word, if begun, was never written to the end.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Danica* (ed. HOLDER, Strassburg, 1886), 106, 34-37 = MALLER-VELSCHOW, I, 162.

quasi inutilem *et* minus efficacem despici *et* reprobari ab omnibus perpenderet, contritus est *et* humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem . . . et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo<sup>1</sup> (see p. 15, above).

4. The word *woc* may refer only to origin; but it suggests the phrase "quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se" in *V2* (see p. 15, above). It is not necessary, however, to insist upon this point.<sup>2</sup>

5. The phrase *hæledum tō helpe* may be purely general, but, as great heroes usually arose in times of great need, it may, like the similar *folce tō frōfre* used of the first Beowulf, apply to a time of special emergency.<sup>3</sup> Cf. "instantissime necescitatis articulum" (p. 15, above).

6. *Hem[m]inges<sup>4</sup> mæg*, in connection with the reading *gēomor*, thus refers, as in l. 1944, consistently to Offa, to whom the other epithets used apply, while the conjectural *Eomær* disappears.

7. The emendation *Eomær* does not help to reconcile *nefa Garmundes* with the Mercian genealogy (Wærmund, Offa, Angelpeow, Eomær). The stress laid in *V* and in the Danish accounts upon the great difference in age between father and son, in connection with the word *nefa*, may mean that originally Offa was the king's grandson. However, it is not uncommon to find relationships varying in different versions of a saga.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> KEMBLE (*Beowulf*, II, 79) translates *gēomor* as "sad-hearted warrior," but in his introduction (I, xiv) he takes the word to allude to Oðl's dulness as told in the Danish version. GRUNDTVIG translates "med Hjærte-Sorge;" Ettmüller, "der Streuge" (PFEIFFER, *Germ.*, I, 297, 298).

<sup>2</sup> *Onwacan* is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER as the usual word meaning *to wake*, but *wacan* is sometimes used in that sense. If it be so taken, *ponon* does not fit so well. The temporal meaning *from the time that would make good sense*; but the nearest that I have found to it is *not until that time* (quoted in BOSWORTH-TOLLER).

<sup>3</sup> B., II-16.

<sup>4</sup> GREIN (*Bibl.*, Göttingen, 1857-64, I, 307) seemed to relate the name to *Hama*; BACH-LECHNER (*Pf. Germ.*, I, 455-60), to *Hamlac=Amlæth*; and SUCHIER (*P. und B., Beitr.* IV, 512) suggests the possibility of a relationship to the Norse guardian spirits *hamingjor*, through the valkyrie *Þryðo* (cf. ELTON, *Dan. Hist. of Saxo Gram.*, 162 n. 1; MEYER, *Germ. Myth.*, Berlin, 1891, 67-69). The name *Heming* is found in the *Lay of Helgi and Sæva* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, Oxford, 1883, I, 148, l. 1); but there is nothing to connect him with Offa. He was foster-father to Helgi who like Offa was dull and silent in his youth and was loved by a valkyrie. There were at least two historic Hemings—Danos—in the early part of the ninth century (see LANG., I, 268, and PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. Script.*, Hannover, 1829, II, 604); but there is no evidence to show that they were ever connected with O2, and transferred to his ancestor.

<sup>5</sup> The hypothesis that in the Mercian list (*Chron.*, 626, 755) Angelpeow has become misplaced and should stand between Offa and Wærmund, reconciles the *Chronicle* with *Beowulf*

8. The reading *gēomor* gives unity to ll. 1944–62, which thus become a tribute to Offa and his queen, introduced by way of contrast to ll. 1931–43. It is not without significance, perhaps, that the second hand in the MS begins in l. 1939. As this is the only case in *Beowulf* of two versions of the same story, it may be that the second scribe had heard the tale “with a difference,” and so felt bound to correct.

Judging from the date of *Widsið*, *Beowulf*, and their MSS, we may say that from the time of the coming of the Angles until the eleventh century the story of Ol’s combat was familiar in Old English poetry,<sup>1</sup> while the allusion to his *edwenden*<sup>2</sup> and two versions of his marriage became incorporated into the *Beowulf* some time between the eighth and tenth centuries.

The large number of obscure allusions in the *Beowulf* seems to show that the *Þryðo* story at least was treated in some detail; while the fact that two conflicting versions existed, alone is evidence that it was well known. The comparatively large space

on this point, but not with the Danish lists. These agree with the *Chronicle* as it stands, for Wiglek (Wihltæg), Wermund (Wærmund), and Uffo (Offa); and at that point diverge widely. Most of them follow Saxo in identifying Uffo (*Ufo Starke*) with the Icelandic *Ólafur Litilldæti* (*hin Spaga, Olafus Mansuetus*), apparently in the belief that his name was changed with his change of character, and represent Dan (*Mikilldæti, hin Stortatene*) as his son; but *Chron. Eric. Reg.* (LANG., I, 153) makes three generations of them. Torfæus, moreover, tells of some writers who, because of the confusion between Olaf and Danp and Dan, represent him as a woman, *Olufa Mansueta* (as applied to Olaf, the epithet means *good-for-nothing*, but here, as in *V1*, *gentle*), Danp’s wife and Dan’s mother. In the English list Offa’s son is Angelþeow, whose name suggests the Swedish *Ongenþeow* (mentioned in *Beowulf*, l. 1968, only six lines beyond the end of the Offa passage); Icel, whom Thorpe believed to be Hygelac the Great, whose name corresponds to the Danish *Hugleikr*, brother or son of Dan; and the unknown *Eomær*. The meaning of the agreement between the English and Danish lists for the three names, and the subsequent confusion, is probably that attempts were made to adopt Angle heroes into the Danish genealogy, after Schleswig had become absorbed in Denmark; but the names that follow in the Mercian lists, if also Angle, are unknown elsewhere. It is barely possible that Wærmund and Offa, as familiar heroes, may have been originally characterized by epithets as in the Danish lists (Wermund was *Farmundr Vitri*, *Vermundus Sapiens*, *Wermund Blinde*, *Wermundus Prudens*) and that in course of time these were mistaken for distinct names: *Angelþeow* might have arisen from *Angelþeoden* or *Angelþeod-cyning* under the influence of *Ongenþeow* familiar from *Beowulf*; and *Eomær* from *gēomor*. The name *Eomer*, however, occurs in the *Chronicle* (LAUD, 626). Cf. HUITFELDT, *Danmarkis Rigis Krønike*, I, 12–13; TORFÆUS, *Hist. Rer. Norveg.*, 1711, I, 413–15; LANG., I, 5, 19, 21, 27, 31, 32, 152, 153; and for a discussion of the genealogies, OLRIK, *Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.*, 1892 (Copenhagen, 1892), II, Række, 7 Bind, 1–2 Hefte, 92, 114–17.

<sup>1</sup> Even if *Widsið* was not written until the seventh century, the allusion to Ol’s combat must have been old enough to be referred to the Eider district; in *V. Fjefeldr* has been replaced by *Riganburne*, identified by the thirteenth-century rubricator as the Avon. Nero D I, fol. 4a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B., 2183–89.

given to O1's combat in *Widsið* (which barely mentions many heroes) is a reason for holding that this too was related at some length,<sup>1</sup> while the fact that *B.*, 1957-62 is of the nature of a summary, apparently introduced only to make an ending for the second version of the *Þryðo* story, itself introduced to correct the first version, and this again brought in only to illustrate Hygd's character by contrasting it with *Þryðo*'s, explains the slightness of the allusion in *gēomor*, and shows that this is no sufficient reason for holding that the awakening was not early included in the account of the battle. The vagueness of the reference and absence of explanation in the context are, on the contrary, reasons for supposing that this feature of the tale was familiar to audiences between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

If several important features of this saga are alluded to in MSS written at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, it is highly probable that the stories themselves would have been handed down in some form until the end of the twelfth century (and perhaps much longer, although I have not been able to trace them in any independent texts of later date than *V*); and therefore may have been included among the fictitious or "apocryphal" oral legends mentioned in *J*, which the author intended to verify before he related them of Offa of Mercia.

Now, while it is probable that the compiler of *V* might have derived the main facts of his narrative from English traditions, it is also true that the Danish account is detailed in regard to the awakening and battle; and that St. Albans had considerable intercourse with Denmark during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> From these facts arise the questions of the relationship (1) of the Danish popular saga to the English; (2) of the liter-

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *geongum cempa* (*B.*, 1948) may allude to the combat. The word *campio* is used in *Sv* of Offa's chief adversary (*LANG.*, I, 45, relates this to the Danish *kæmpe*, Germ. *kämpfer*, OE. *cempa*), while the proper Latin equivalents *athleta*, *pugil* appear in *Sz*, and the *Hist.* . . . *de Omn. Goth.*, etc., of JOANNES MAGNUS, pp. 95, 98. It is possible that the phrase *in campestri bello* used in connection with O2 in *J* (see p. 3, above) may have arisen from an indistinct memory of the combat and of the fact that O2 killed St. Ethelbert. DU CANGE quotes *campestrati* from JOHN OF SALISBURY (*Polycrat.*, VIII, 12), as meaning *succinctoria habentes*; and DU FRESNE-HENSCHÉL under *Bellum Campale* gives the meaning *proelium publicum, folcgefecht*. But can *campestri* possibly be related to *campio*?

<sup>2</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, 12-19, 84-87.

any versions of Saxo (*Sx*) and Sveno (*Sv*) to the English literary version *V*.

The first point, after a long course of argument, has been practically settled. Gramm in his notes on Meursius<sup>1</sup> was first to suggest that English priests in Canute's time had carried the saga from England to Denmark. This view was opposed by Langebek,<sup>2</sup> while Dahlmann<sup>3</sup> advanced the theory, upheld in the Müller-Velschow edition of *Sx*,<sup>4</sup> that, arising like the Amleth saga, from a Jutish source, the Offa saga spread thence over Denmark, was carried into England, and continued to develop independently in the two countries. Müllenhoff<sup>5</sup> went back to the theory of a double wandering, first to England, then back to Denmark; but his arguments were answered finally by Olrik,<sup>6</sup> who returned to Dahlmann's point of view.

From *Widsið* we get the original localization of the story in Schleswig, the result of the combat being the enlargement of the Angle boundaries on the south toward the Myrgings (a branch of the Suevi). Whether Alewih was Offa's antagonist<sup>7</sup> or merely his rival in great deeds, certainly in the time of *Widsið* the Danes and the Angles were still distinct peoples, while by the twelfth century Schleswig had long been identified with Denmark;<sup>8</sup> hence, the tales must almost certainly have been adopted with the people by Denmark and told of Danish heroes, as, on the other hand, they were carried to England, at first, referred to the continental Angles and later to the Angles in England.<sup>9</sup>

The question in regard to the literary version *V* is widely different. That Sveno and Saxo wrote their histories (*Sv* and *Sx*) independently of it is almost certain, since *Sv* surely, and this part of *Sx* in all probability, are earlier; but however strong English traditions of Offa may have been, it is reasonable to suppose that the author had heard from traveling Danes at St.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, IX, cols. 35 F, 36 D, E, F, n. c.

<sup>2</sup> I, 45 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Forsch.*, I, 234, 235.

<sup>4</sup> II, 137-39.

<sup>5</sup> *Beowulf*, 80-84.

<sup>6</sup> *Ark. f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Folge, IV. Bind, 4. Hæfte, 373, 374.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ETTMÜLLER, *Altnord. Sagensch.*, 133; MÜLLENHOFF, *B.*, 74; *Schles.-Holst. Sagen*, p. 5; and MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volksep.*, 26-30, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> In 1208 Holstein was added by Waldemar II, who pushed his southern boundaries from the Eider to the Elbe.

<sup>9</sup> GRAMM, 9, 38 B; MÜLLER-VELSCHOW, II, 139.

Albans,<sup>1</sup> or perhaps at Paris,<sup>2</sup> something of the Danish traditions which were so similar to those in which he was interested. Therefore it is necessary to compare *Sv* and *Sx* with *V* for signs of influence from Danish sources.

The groundwork of the story in *V1*, which, as has been shown, is suggested in the Old English poems, *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, is also to be found in *Sv* and *Sx*; but the differences are numerous and important, as appears from the following comparison:

<i>Sv</i> and <i>Sx</i>	<i>V</i>
1. Place—the Eider district.	Place—Warwick- and Gloucestershire.
2. W very old and blind.	W very old; O blind until his seventh year.
3. U seems stupid and dumb ( <i>Sv</i> morally degenerate; <i>Sx</i> silent and sorrowful).	O considered a fool, is really dumb.
4. U has feigned dumbness because of shame at the killing of Adisl; and rouses himself to meet an emergency.	O is cured by a miracle in answer to prayer, to meet an emergency.
5. U is married to Frowin's daughter.	Unmarried.
6. The danger is of invasion by a foreign enemy, who, because of the disabilities of W and U, aims at the throne.	The danger is of usurpation of the throne, for the same reason, by a nobleman of the country.
7. The enemy sends a challenge to single combat which shall decide the rule, as an easy means of attaining his end; U insists upon fight-	Nothing of this, except that O1 claims his right to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> "Duo viri literati," Danes who knew no English, at a visit to St. Albans, told in Latin a legend of King Canute, as is related in the *Gest. Abb.*, I, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Many Danes went to the University of Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century (DENIFLE, *Die Universitäten des M. A. bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, 92 n. 169a). *Sx* says that Andrew, archbishop of Lund (1202-28), had searched Gaul, Italy, and Britain to gather knowledge of letters. He, like Abbot John de Cella, was *magister* and may have had a post at the University of Paris (cf. ELTON, *Saxo*, pp. 2, 3 n. 1).



*Sv and Sx*

## V

ing two, to balance the shame of his country in the combat of Wig and Keto (his brothers-in-law) fighting together against Aðisl.

8. U breaks all swords that he tries until W unearths Skrep, which he had buried long before in despair of its ever being used worthily.

9. The combat is on an island; the two armies are merely spectators. W is present and ready to kill himself if U is conquered.

10. U eggs on his enemies in turn, in order to dispose of the bravest first, and kills the champion.

12. A brief notice of U's succession to the throne, and a summary of his later deeds.

O1 is girded with a sword by W.

The armies are encamped on opposite sides on an almost impassable river. O1 crosses with a few picked men and defends the ford against great odds, while the bulk of the army follows. W has retired to a safe place.

During a pause in the battle, O1 is insulted by the two sons of the would-be usurper and kills them (the elder first); after which the battle is resumed until the enemy is annihilated.

Here follows much matter not found in *Sv* and *Sx*; the distribution of the spoils, the burial of the dead, names of the battlefield, W's long speech of rejoicing and abdication.

The death and burial of Warmund and Offa's early prosperity.

In summing up the relationship between the two versions, we find that *Sv* and *Sx* describe at length the feud between Frowin and Aðisl ending in the death of both, give details in regard to the challenge and the Skrep episode, and mention a marriage of which *V1* knows nothing; *V1*, on the other hand, is far more detailed in regard to the battle and its immediate consequences.

As to treatment of subject-matter, aside from the difference in localization, there are wide variations in the description of O1's affliction and its cure, and in the circumstances of the combat.<sup>1</sup>

Among all these differences it is difficult to see how there can be any question of influence from the Danish accounts upon *V*. Still, as a few points of likeness have been observed, it is necessary to ascertain, if possible, the meaning of these.

1. Suhm<sup>2</sup> found a certain resemblance between the first speech of U and O1; but a close comparison of the two shows that the substance is different, and the likeness is purely one of twelfth century rhetoric.

2. The unexplained recovery of sight at the age of seven (in *V*) has been compared with the assertion in *Chron. Erii Regis*:<sup>3</sup> "a septimo ætatis anno usque ad trigesimum noluit loqui;" but the only point of connection between the two is the indication of a crisis in the seventh year.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as this point is not found in *Sv* or *Sx*, and *Chron. Erii* is much later than *V*, the statement in *V* may more easily have come from English popular tradition than from Danish.

3. More significant perhaps is the statement in *V*2 that Tuinfred resigned his earldom because of growing blindness, "etenim senui et caligauerunt oculi mei,"<sup>5</sup> almost the same words being used to describe Wermund in *Sv*: "ut oculi ejus præ senio caligarent."<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding the close resemblance in the phrasing I cannot think that this sentence is taken from *Sv*, (1) because the words are common enough to have suggested themselves independently to two writers; (2) if they had been borrowed, they must have been applied to Warmund.<sup>7</sup> That the com-

<sup>1</sup> As to the scale on which the three narratives are constructed: *V*1 has about six thousand words in its first part, of which about three thousand (roughly speaking) are given to (a) the awakening and preparations for battle, (b) the battle, (c) W.'s speech and summary; *Sv* for the same events has less than one thousand altogether; and *Sx* has about three thousand, of which more than half is given to the Wig and Keto, and Folco stories, which do not appear in *V*1 at all.

<sup>2</sup> SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 117; also LAPPENBERG, 223 n. 1 (ed. 1834), but cf. *Sv*, 46 and *V*, 2, 21-35.

<sup>3</sup> LANG., I, 152.

<sup>4</sup> Brought about by the killing of Aðisl by Wig and Keto? Uffo's dumbness suggests Helgi's when he mutely brooded upon revenge for his father's slaying until the valkyrie Swava showed him how to find the magic sword (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 145).

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 12, 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> LANG., I, 45.

<sup>7</sup> So quasi a graui sompno expergefactus would have been referred to O1 if derived from *Sv* or *Sx*.

piller did not deliberately transfer the blindness to Offa merely to heighten the miracle is evident from the fact that he does not connect the recovery of sight with that of speech, or make use of it in any way. Therefore I think that *V* represents confused English traditions.

4. The double naming of several characters and some of the names themselves suggest possible Danish influence: (1) Riganus, is also called Aliel (in the rubrics only); Otta and Milio(ne), his sons, during the combat are unexpectedly named Brutus and Sueno, the former being given the cognomen Hildebrand, by the rubricator.<sup>1</sup>

*Riganus* is said to have been so named *a rigore (rigiditate et acerbitate mentis)*; <sup>2</sup> and as *Offanus* was made from *Offa*, so *Riganus* may have been derived from *Rig* (or *Rigr*?) But there is no *Rig* in *Sx* or *Sv*, and the *Rig* or *Righ* of *Rigs-pula* is perhaps of western origin (see p. 44, below).

That Hildebrand should be connected with *Rig*<sup>3</sup> rather than with *Aliel* appears from the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*,<sup>4</sup> in which he says that he is Drott's son, and Ari's *Ynglingasaga*,<sup>5</sup> in which Drott is the daughter of Danp, son of Rig.

On the other hand, *Aliel* (mentioned by the rubricator only) and *Otta* may possibly be due to Danish influence. Grundtvig and Bugge<sup>6</sup> have shown that the Norse *Adils*, son of *Ottarr*, is the Old English *Eadgils*, son of *Ohthere*. In *V* the relationship is exactly reversed. *Otta* is the son of *Aliel*. But, if there is any relationship, these forms could have been corruptions of the Norse spellings much more easily than of the Old English. However, *Aliel* might as easily have been a misunderstanding of

<sup>1</sup> "Hildebrandus miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus" (Nero D I, fol. 2a, rubric attached to illustration); "Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus" (fol. 2b, n. in margin).

<sup>2</sup> "Hic Riganus binomius fuit. Vocabatur enim alio nomine Aliel, Riganus uero a rigore" (*supra*, loc. cit.). Cf. also "Riganum in superbia rigentem" (*V*, 4, 40, 41).

<sup>3</sup> The name *Mitunnus* (*V*, 4, ll. 40, 41) suggests the *Mitholyn* of *Sx* (ed. HOLDER, 25, l. 35); but it is too doubtfully related to be an indication of Norse influence. However, it should be observed that *Mitholyn* also plays the part of an usurper and is killed for this (cf. MEYER, 219 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 190, l. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. 20. *Cl. Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 234, 242.

<sup>6</sup> P. u. B., *Beitr.*, XII, 12, 13.

*Alewih*<sup>1</sup> as of *Adils*, and *Otta* of *Octa* as of *Ottarr*.<sup>2</sup> Saxo, it is true, mentions *Adisl*, but no sons of his; and it is not easy to see how *Otta* and *Milio* could have been confused in any way with *Wig* and *Keto*, the sons of *Frowin*, by whom *Adisl* was killed.<sup>3</sup>

I feel bound to conclude that there are no unmistakable signs of influence from *Sv* and *Sx*, and from the Danish saga as it developed in Denmark; that there was a certain amount of influence from the Danish sagas developing in England is both reasonable and will, I think, appear in the consideration of the content of the English saga.

Setting aside for the moment the introduction of the miraculous element,<sup>4</sup> with the prayer and speech attending it, which may be safely attributed to the compiler, we come to a closer examination of the text of the battle account for further traces of its sources.

1. The description is the longest that I have found in any chronicle of a Saxon battle, being more than three times as long as Henry of Huntingdon's translation of the *Battle of Brunanburh*.<sup>5</sup>

2. It contains several striking details which the compiler could have had no object in inventing, such as (a) the swollen, almost impassable state of the river,<sup>6</sup> which led to O's defense of the ford and to the drowning of Riganus and many of his army; (b) the burial of the dead beneath the cairns of stones;<sup>7</sup> (c) the names given to the battlefield.

3. The situation of the battle, while unwarranted by *Sv* and *Sx*, is yet purely Teutonic in its representation of the defense of

<sup>1</sup>The name persisted until the eighth century. Æthelbald's father was *Alweo* (*Sax. Chron.*, an. 716). Cf. HAIGH, *The A. S. Sagas* (London, 1861), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>Octa and Eosa, sons of Hengest; according to *CM*, I, 231, 232, killed in battle against Uther at Verolamium. In *J* (GALE, III, p. 525), Octa = Otta.

<sup>3</sup>The combat of Wig and Keto against Adisl, told in *Sx*, may have been known in England; at least Wig, son of *Freawine* (= *Frowin*) appears in the genealogy of Cerdic in the Parker MS of the *Sax. Chron.* But it does not seem possible to connect Otta and Milio with this; both their names and their relationships to Aliel being so different.

<sup>4</sup>Several miracles happened during John de Cella's abbacy (cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 219, 230, 231).

<sup>5</sup>About 1,000 words; HUNTINGDON's *Brunanburh* contains about 300; there are 140 in the *CM* version of the battle of the Idle, an. 617, and 400 in Huntingdon's account of the battle of Burford, an. 752.

<sup>6</sup>We have even the detail "qui vix erat homini uel equo transmeabilis" (*V*, 3, 9).

<sup>7</sup>Cum lamentacionibus" (*V*, 4, 17) suggests "Swa begnornedon (*B.*, 3178), the "giomorgyd" (*B.*, 3150), and "gnornode geomrode giddum" (*B.*, 1117, 1118) of Old English verse, rather than the Christian burial service.

a narrow pass;<sup>1</sup> and is particularly suggestive of the *Battle of Maldon*,<sup>2</sup> the two armies at first being kept from each other by the swollen state of the river,<sup>3</sup> only hurling weapons and shouting threats and insults across.

4. Although the text contains rhetorical padding in the way of generalized descriptions, it shows possible marks of condensation as well: (a) the specific fact that O1 crossed the river so suddenly as to take the enemy by surprise, and on the bank crushed and slew many of them, is so definite in itself as to suggest that more details were originally known;<sup>4</sup> (b) the *conuicia* and *comminaciones* might easily have been given in detail, as are the speeches in the *Battle of Maldon*; (c) the exhortations of the leaders are referred to in two lines, purely general in character, of indirect discourse, although in *V2* at this point the author takes occasion to give a speech of six lines; (d) the *probra* and *uerba turpia* of the sons of Aliel may well have been originally given, as the taunting speeches of Uffo are recorded in *Sx* and *Sv*.

5. The names given to the battlefield, *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*,<sup>5</sup> are English, in their present form not earlier than the twelfth century; but this is to be expected if they were taken down from oral recitation.

6. The language itself seems to show one or two peculiarities, not sufficiently accounted for by mediæval rhetoric. Perhaps the best basis for a comparison is Henry of Huntingdon's literal translation of *Brunanburh*. A reading of this with its original reveals three salient features: (1) various blunders, often absurd,

<sup>1</sup> For other instances, see KER, *Epic and Romance* (London, 1897), pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Nichilque intererat nisi fluius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat" (3, 7, 8), and "Ne mihte þær for waetere werod tō þām oðrum; þær cōm flōwende fiod aefter ebban" (*Maldon*, 64, 65). There is nothing in *V*, however, to show that the river was tidal. Two of the Avons are tidal; the third associated with Warwick, empties into the Severn.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "tela tamen sola, cum crebris comminacionibus et conuiciis transuolarunt" and "būton hwā purh flānes flyht fyl genāme" (*Maldon*, 71).

<sup>4</sup> In *Maldon*, where the situation is reversed, the enemy being allowed to cross and land by Byrhtnoð, who was too proud to take any advantage, the episode extends to twenty-seven lines (72-99).

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 4, 19 and 23. In the margin *Qualm-weld* is suggested by the rubricator, fol. 4a, as an alternative to *Qualm-hul*.

due to a misunderstanding of the words;<sup>1</sup> (2) a successful removal of much distinctively Old English coloring;<sup>2</sup> (3) the retention of a few phrases unmistakably Old English in idiom.<sup>3</sup>

Since *Brunanburh* was written after 937 and Henry's version was made before 1150, it is obvious that if *V1* is translated from a book source of that date or earlier, it might be expected to show signs of (1) and (3), while if it is merely a retelling of an old story, whether prose or verse, (2) points to a tendency at that time largely to obliterate marks of its source.

The fact that many of the descriptive phrases in the text of *V1* can be paralleled from other works of approximately the same date<sup>4</sup> (especially Huntingdon's *Hist. Anglor.* and *CM*, and to a less striking degree *Sx*) means simply that they belonged to the fashionable rhetoric of the time; but, on the other hand, the fact that some of them appear in the translation of *Brunanburh* means that their presence is no argument against an Old English source if traces of this be found.

There is at least one expression several times repeated (in part) which seems to me to deserve careful study in this connection: "Denorauit gladius tuus hostes nostros, fulminans et cruentatus, hostili sanguine magnifice inebriatus."<sup>5</sup>

The construction suggests an order very common in Old English verse, and by no means characteristic of Latin: verb, subject, object, and a series of epithets qualifying subject (or object).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ROLLS ed., pp. 160, 161. "Domesticæ reliquiae defuncti Edwardi" = "hamora lāfum eaforan Eadweardes" (*Br.*, 6, 7); "a genibus cognationum" = "fram enōmāgum" (8); "pecunias et xenia" = "hord and hāmas" (10).

<sup>2</sup> "Mēca gemānan" (*Br.*, 40) = "de Martis congressu"; "sweordum āswefede" (*Br.*, 30) = "gladiis percussī"; "wērig wīges sæd" (*Br.*, 30) = "bello fatigati"; "gārmittinge" (*Br.*, 50) = "wāpēu gewrixles" (*Br.*, 51) = "ictum immanitate, telorum transforatione"; "ēoredcystum" (*Br.*, 21) = "prius electi."

<sup>3</sup> "Heardes handplegan" (*Br.*, 25) = "duro manus ludo"; "corvus niger, ore cornutus et bufio livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore his sunt deliciis diu recreati" = "Lēton . . .

. . . . . ðone sweartan hraefn,  
hyrnednebban," etc.

—*Br.*, 60-65.

<sup>4</sup> For example, all those quoted in n. 2 from the translation of *Brunanburh* find equivalents in *V*, in other parts of *Hist. Anglor.*, in *CM*, and some of them in *Sx*.

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 4, 42, 43; cf. *V*, 3, ll. 20, 49, 50; 5, l. 12. The lines are an approach to a rude couplet; but this is perhaps accidental.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *B.*, 325, 326, 728-30, 1020-22, 1035-37, 1125-27, 1443, 1444, 1543-47, 2190-92, 2337-39, 2367, 2368, 2542-46, 3110-14, etc.

*Deorauit gladius* is a figure used in the *Vulgate*, but it also suggests the Old English "*billes bite*."<sup>1</sup> *Gladius . . . fulminans*, though the verb seems to be used in classical Latin of the gleam of armor, suggests the Old English *swyrd-lēoma*.<sup>2</sup> *Cruentatus*, though good Latin, also translates the Old English *blōdig* or *blōd-fæg*. More significant is the combination "*deorauit gladius . . . fulminans*," when read in connection with the Old English: "*sē beado-lēoma bitan nolde*;"<sup>3</sup> and most important of all is the use of the word *inebriatus*, which does not seem to be quoted in any Latin dictionary in the context in which it stands in this sentence. The word means literally "intoxicated;" in a rare figurative sense, "soaked," as material in dye. The literal meaning seems to me suggestive of the Old English mode of thought. *Beowulf*, 2358, 2359, reads:

Hrēðles eafora, hioru-dryncum swealt  
bille gebēaten:

The sense is evidently that Hygelac, struck down by the sword, died a bloody death. The literal meaning of *hioru-dryncum* is *sword-drink*,<sup>4</sup> i. e., he died because a sword drank his blood; as he might have died of *snake-bite*, the chief difference between the two being that the idea in the former has advanced beyond the literal *sword-cut* into a figurative conception of the weapon personified<sup>5</sup> as drinking the blood. While the sword in *Beowulf* is often personified, it is several times represented as biting,<sup>6</sup> but never as drinking the blood;<sup>7</sup> still the passage quoted furnishes grounds for holding that *inebriatus* may have been represented by an Old English phrase such as *drēore druncen*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B., 2060; cf. 2259.

<sup>2</sup> *Finnsb.*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> B., 1523; cf. also B., 1454, 2229.

<sup>4</sup> BOSWORTH-TOLLER: *heoru-drync* = the sword's drink, blood flowing from a wound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1522-23, 2584-86.

<sup>6</sup> *Lad-bite* = "wound," B., 1122.

<sup>7</sup> A personified sword might have been conceived as acting after the manner of Grendel: "*bāt bān-locan, blōd sēdrum dranc*" (B., 742).

<sup>8</sup> Little stress should perhaps be laid on the fact that the sentence lends itself readily to translation into Old English verse:

"Bāt beado-lēoma { blōdig  
                              { blōd-fæg (āre) lāðas,  
Secga swāte swiðe bestfmed,  
Drēore druncen [dryhtlic iron]."

Cf. *Andreas*, 1002, 1003:

"Hæðene swæfon  
Drēore druncne deaðwang rūdon."



The cumulative effect of these various possibilities of referring the Latin to an English original,<sup>1</sup> and the numerous allusions in a similar strain to Offa's sword, may be added to the previously mentioned reasons for believing in a definite account in English of the battle.<sup>2</sup>

In summing up the probabilities, it is useful to compare the notice of the *Battle of Maldon* by Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester with the account in the Parker MS of the Saxon Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> That the scribe of this last had the poem in mind seems possible from the fact that he scratched out the dates marked for seven years in advance (his next year is 1001) to make room for the entry, which is much longer than in the other MSS. But Florence has the additional phrases: "strenuus dux . . . utrinque infinita multitudine caesa . . .," which in so careful a writer must mean further reference to the source of information; while Henry is still more definite: "gladiis caesus occubuit et phalanges ejus in perniciem redactae sunt." The plural *gladiis* shows that this addition is not mere rhetoric, but an allusion to the somewhat unusual circumstances under which Byrhtnoð was killed. After he had lost the use of his sword-arm, "Dā hine hēowon hāðene scealcas."<sup>4</sup> Further, according to the poem, his troop was actually annihilated—a fact not stated or even implied in the Parker MS. Therefore it seems to me almost certain that Florence and Henry drew upon the poem itself for their additional details. Hence, *Maldon* as well as *Brunanburh* was still known in the twelfth century; and if these, probably others.

If, then, we find, as in *V*, a battle account<sup>5</sup> two-thirds as long

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *campum Offe . . . reliquerunt* (*Y.*, 4, 4-6) is more suggestive of the Old English *forlēt on wælstōwe* (*Br.*, 42, 43) than is Henry's *loco secessit*, which is, however, a translation of it. It suggests also the "āhton wælstōwe geweld," so common in the account of Alfred's wars in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> In both Danish and English versions there seems to be allusion to a particularly terrible blow; cf. the "unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono cranium usque ad cerebri medullam perforavit" (*V*, 3, 46, 47) with the "primo ferri ictu medium dissecat" of *Sz* (116, 24).

<sup>3</sup> *An.* 937.

<sup>4</sup> *Maldon*, 162-84, especially 181.

<sup>5</sup> It does not seem to me in any way possible that this can be a mere reflection or imitation of *Maldon*, for not only are the situations exactly reversed, but also, the Offa in *Maldon* plays a subordinate and entirely different part, being merely one of Byrhtnoð's thegns killed in avenging him.

as the *Battle of Maldon* would have been, if this had been translated by Huntingdon, showing possibilities of having been condensed, and if this contains details characteristically Teutonic, resembling passages in Old English verse, with one or two expressions suggestive of Old English idiom, it seems fairly certain that the source of this was an English poem.<sup>1</sup>

The question as to the probable content of this part of the saga in the twelfth century, its approximate date, its relation to other cycles, and the manner in which the compiler used it, must be largely a matter of conjecture; but there are various peculiarities in the text that point toward a solution.

#### I. THE CONTENT.

As the first part of *V1* lacks the characteristic Old English features noticeable in the battle text, and contains much rhetorical padding in connection with the miracle, the question arises whether the two parts of the text are based upon sources originally distinct. There are obviously two discrepancies:

1. Riganus is repeatedly stated to have been a nobleman of Warmund's country; while after the battle the war is described as "*inter alienigenas*."<sup>2</sup>

2. The sons of Aliel are called Otta and Milio before the battle, and Brutus and Sueno during the combat,<sup>3</sup> while the thirteenth-century rubricator suggests Hildebrandus as a cognomen for Brutus: "*miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus*."<sup>4</sup> There is in the text no attempt to reconcile these names.<sup>5</sup>

These facts seem to show that the compiler was working from at least two sources and was not over-careful in combining them.

The only distinctively epic feature in the first part is the allusion to *O1* as "*inutili ac vano murione*"<sup>6</sup>—a phrase suggestive of

<sup>1</sup> SUHM says that without doubt the names *Qualmveid* and *Blodiweid* are taken from some old poet (SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 120).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *V*, 2, ll. 25-27; and 4, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *V*, 3, l. 41, and 3, l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 2a. *Sine Hildebrandus* (fol. 3b).

<sup>5</sup> In a marginal note on fol. 2b the rubricator attempts, but does not finish, a solution. He says that Aliel had three sons: "*Unus miles strenuus, alius adolescens superbus, tercius infans. Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus*;" but he does not say whether the second and third were Otta and Milio, or whether Sueno was one of them.

<sup>6</sup> *V*, 2, ll. 40, 41. *Murio* represents the classical *morio*, which, while it regularly means "fool," is found in MARTIAL's *Epigrammata* (6, 39, 17) as "monster," "deformed person."

the Danish Uffo, and often characteristic of the youth of the epic hero. Cf. *Beowulf*, 2183-89:

Hēan wæs lange.  
swā hyne Gēata bearn gōdne ne tealdon.  
no hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne  
drihten wereda gedōn wolde;  
swyðe [wēn]don, þæt hē slēac wære;  
æðeling unfrom. Edwenden<sup>1</sup> cwōm  
tir-ēadigum menn torna gehwylces.

Considering the marked mediæval character of this part of *V1*, the abundance of rhetoric and the obscurity of the allusions to O1's blindness and to the sword,<sup>2</sup> we are perhaps justified in deciding against the probability of any one definite, detailed source for this episode.

As to Warmund's speech of fifty-one lines, following close upon the end of the battle, while it is true that mediæval chroniclers are given to introducing fictitious orations into their histories, the following points are worth noting: (1) the tone or tenor of the thought shows considerable resemblance to that of Hroðgar's speeches to Beowulf after the latter's two combats, especially the second;<sup>3</sup> (2) it contains the longest lyric passage about the sword (*V*, 4, 42, 43); (3) several phrases are borrowed from it in the corresponding speech of Tuinfred,<sup>4</sup> and one at least transferred to O2's reply;<sup>5</sup> while in *V1*, O1's reply is summed up in the words *grates retulit accumulatas*.<sup>6</sup> This last fact, while it speaks against the existence of an independent source for the parallel situation in *V2*, does not necessarily imply a definite source for the speech in *V1*. It may mean only that the compiler repeated his own phrasing to strengthen the parallel.

Against the supposition that the speech belonged to the battle account may be mentioned two facts: (a) that the narrative seems to come to a fitting conclusion in the naming of the field;

<sup>1</sup> KRANTZ, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarum* (Strassburg(?) 1562), uses the Latin equivalent in speaking of Uffo: "insignis facta est rerum, morumque conuersio" (p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> THORPE (LAPPENBERG, *Hist. of Eng. under the A. S. Kings*, London, 1845, I, 228 n. 1) mentioned this allusion as an indication that the compiler knew the story of Skrep; but it may as easily have been due to his acquaintance with the customs of chivalry. The text says only: "cum sollempni et regia pompa, gladio filium suum accinxit" (*V*, 2, 50).

<sup>3</sup> *B.*, 928-56 and 1700-1784. <sup>4</sup> *V*, II, ll. 53-56 and 12, ll. 1-5. <sup>5</sup> *V*, 12, ll. 6-9. <sup>6</sup> *V*, 5, l. 28.

(b) that the war, in the speech, as in the awakening, is alluded to as between natives of the same country (cf. *V*, 4, ll. 35-38, and 1, ll. 17-22).

The content of the materials used for this part of the text may be summed up as having included probably: (1) a detailed account, probably in popular verse, handed down in modified form from Saxon times, of the battle and combat; (2) vague and confused traditions in regard to the awakening, and to Warmund's achievements, abdication, and death.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE APPROXIMATE DATE.

While *Widsið* and *Beowulf* know nothing of England, *V1* in its opening sentences states that Warmund was a famous king of the West Angles, from whom Warwick was named.<sup>2</sup> *Occidentaliū Anglorum* is not a blunder for *Orientalium anglorum*, as Wats thought, but a synonym for *Merciorum*.<sup>3</sup> A charter of doubtful authenticity, signed, "Ego Offa nondum regno Merciorum a domino accepto puer indolis in provincia Huicciorum,"<sup>4</sup> implies a belief current in the twelfth century that O2 was born in the Gloucester-Warwick district; and this belief is in a measure supported by the numerous charters signed or confirmed by him,

<sup>1</sup> I have passed over the narrative of the combat in defense of Wermund's kingdom, as given in the *Historia . . . de Omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque Regibus* of JOANNES MAGNUS (Rome, 1554, *JM*) because this does not seem to me to be in any way related to *V*. However, it shows at least one curious coincidence, for which an explanation must be suggested. The account in *JM* is the only one in which, as in *V1*, the single combat is merely a feature of a general battle; but it is not possible to base upon this fact the conclusion that *JM* represents a Swedish tradition agreeing with *V* as against *Sv* and *Sr*, for two reasons: (1) that his narrative (pp. 97, 98) is pieced together out of two passages in *Sr* (ed. HOLDER, pp. 83, 30-33 and 85, 27-29, and 107, 27-30), which deal with different events and are inconsistent with each other; and (2) the hero of the combat is Frowin, not Uffo. While it is not easy to see why these materials are so manipulated, the result attained is: a composite battle account in which the description in *Sr* of a single combat between one Ubbo (whom *JM* himself mentions briefly, pp. 95, 96, "athleta Ubbo, Danicus siue (vt alii scribunt) Frisius," as having been mortally wounded in the time of Roderick Slingabond, Attilus's father) and a Vandal is introduced with slight changes, and applied to Frowin and Attilus; and notwithstanding the previous agreement, the combat is followed by renewed fighting between the armies until the Danes are annihilated. A Swedish history such as *JM* would not need to concern itself with Uffo; and as the Ubbo combat, known but obscurely to *JM*, is related at length in *Sr* and has nothing in common with Uffo or Offa, it is clear that the resemblance between *JM* and *V* is merely superficial.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been buried at Gloucester, *V*, 5, 53.

<sup>3</sup> GREEN, *Making of England* (London, 1897), I, 95, 96. The West Angles were so called because they lived near the marches of Wales.

<sup>4</sup> BIRCH, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885-99), I, no. 183, c. aa. 757.

attesting early benefactions to the church of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, then, that the localization of Warmund and O1 in England did not begin until after the fame of O2 was established.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, ancient tales antedating the coming of the Angles to England were reinforced and modified by the historic career of an eighth-century king; and after about three centuries of confusion, reached the compiler in twelfth-century forms.

### III. THE CYCLE TO WHICH THE STORY BELONGED.

There seem to me to be unmistakable indications that the material used in *V 7* is part of an extensive saga of Angle or Anglo-Norse origin in which Offa, Wade, and Hildebrand figured prominently, and perhaps Weyland,<sup>3</sup> Theodoric, and other heroes mentioned in *Widsið*.

In *V 1*, we find Offa fighting against Hildebrand and Sueno, the sons of Riganus (*Rig*). In the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*, the hero calls himself a Dane, the son of *Rig's* granddaughter. Torfæus uses *Rig* (= *rex*) as a title given to Wermund.<sup>4</sup> The importance of this confusion lies in the fact that he identifies the word with the Celtic *riġh*; and, notwithstanding his blunder in bringing the two names together, shows that some association existed in his mind between *Rig*, Wermund, and Offa. Further, the *Rig* mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, and *Rigspula* belongs, according to Vigfusson and Powell, to the West; hence there is a probability that Offa, *Rig*, Wermund and Hildebrand (Sueno?) were associated in a Western cycle.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BIRCH, I, 183, 187, 216, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241.

<sup>2</sup> Warmund and O1 are mentioned also in connection with Penda, 626, in WHELOC's edition of Otho B xi of the *Saxon Chronicle* (EARLE-PLUMMER, p. xiii); hence, this localization of Angle heroes in England may have begun in connection with Penda, who was also a popular hero; but the evidence of *Widsið* goes to show that it was not before the eighth century.

<sup>3</sup> BUGGE (*Home of Ed. Poems*, tr. SCHOFIELD, Grimm's Library, XL, 374) believes in a western origin for the *Lay of Weyland*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Rev. Norveg.*, 1241, I, 1711, 414.

<sup>5</sup> On what grounds *Riganburne* was identified with the Avon I do not know; but this localization strengthens the belief that *Rig* was familiar in England. Various names compounded with *Rig* are given in *Domesday Book*, as *Rigbi*, *Rigge*, *Righeborg*, *Rigesbi*, *Righesbi*, *Righeshalam*, *Rigneseta*. Most of them situated in Warwick, Lincoln, and Yorkshire; but I have not been able to find *Riganburne*. For the identification of *Rig-Heimdal* with *Scef* see RYDBERG, *Undersök. i Germ. Myth.* (Stockholm, 1886, 1889), 1: a häftet, pp. 102-107; or *Teut. Myth.*, tr. ANDERSON (London, 1889), 90-95.

Hildebrand appears again in the recently discovered Wade fragment:<sup>1</sup>

Summe sende ylues  
and summe sende nadderres  
summe sende nikeres  
the biden patez (bi den watere?) wunien  
Nister man nenne  
bute ildebrand onne.

Here the situation bears a resemblance to that alluded to in *Waldhere*, 72-76, in which Widia, Wade's grandson, and Hildebrand rescue Theodoric from a den of monsters:

Ic wāt, þæt hit dōhte ðeodric Widian  
selfum onsendon and eac sinc micel  
māðma mid ði mēce, monig oðres mid him  
golde gegirwan, iulean genām,  
þæs ðe hine of nearwum Niðhādes mæg,  
Welandes bearn, Widia ūt forlēt:  
ðurh fifela gefeald forð onette.

—GREIN-WÜLCKER, B, 4-10.

But Wade and Sueno (Suanus) appear in Map's twelfth-century story of Gado,<sup>2</sup> and here both are connected with Offa, who, from allusions to wars with the Welsh and the dyke, is clearly O2. Suanus here is not his enemy, but his nephew, who assists him to defend a town against the Roman emperor, probably Charlemagne. Gado, however, the son of the king of the Vandals, the *virum maximum* of wonderful powers, who had traveled widely about the world, is evidently the *Wada* who ruled *Hælsingum*,<sup>3</sup> the *Vadus Gigas* of the *Wilkinga saga*.<sup>4</sup>

And, last of all, Theodoric, who in *Waldhere* is related to Wade through Widia and Hildebrand, comes into contact with the *Volsunga saga*, being mentioned in the *Ordeal of Gudrun*<sup>5</sup> as Gudrun's lover; while to complete the circle, Ordrun in her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Academy*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1241; *Athenæum*, No. 3564, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *De Nug. Cur.*, ed. WRIGHT, Camden Soc., 1850, Distinc. II, xvii. The name is said to be *Grado* in the first two instances in the MS, but afterwards *Gado*.

<sup>3</sup> *Widsið*, l. 22.

<sup>4</sup> MICHEL, *Wade* (Paris, Londres, 1837), pp. 12, 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, p. 322, 7, 17.

*Lament*<sup>1</sup> tells how she was away at Geirmund's when her lover Gunnar (= OE. *Guthere*) was cast into the pit of serpents.

Of these persons Wada, Theodoric, Attila, Guthere, Widia (= Wudga), and Offa are mentioned in *Widsið*,<sup>2</sup> Weland and Theodoric in *Deor's Lament*.<sup>3</sup>

From these facts we must conclude, I think, in favor of a strong probability that the "apocryphal" legends, which the author of J had collected and questioned in regard to Offa of Mercia, were very old tales in which some or all of the above-mentioned heroes figured. No doubt the lost poem of Wade,<sup>4</sup> which Map's poem may partly have summarized, partly adapted, would have contained matter relating to O1, and the cycle of which he was a part,<sup>5</sup> but in a measure transferred to O2.

On the other hand, the character and localization of the war, and nature of the *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*—implying, as they do, a historic battle with indiscriminate slaughter (*folc-gefeoht*) rather than the epic man-to-man combat<sup>6</sup>—indicate that the tradition was modified after the time of O2, so much so that for the compiler the older stratum was inextricably confused with the newer, and the parallel was his only way out of the difficulty.

#### IV. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE COMPILER USED HIS MATERIALS.

Though the modifications made in the original saga after the time of O2 might have led the compiler to see the parallel between the early military careers of the two kings, they do not explain what justification he found for altering the awakening into the miracle. A possible solution of this lies in the use of the name *Pinefredus*.<sup>7</sup> This, although not found elsewhere, is stated

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313, l. 108; cf. p. 559, n. on ll. 104-110.

<sup>2</sup> W., 22, 24, 115, 35 f., 66, 122, 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Deor.*, 1-20.

<sup>4</sup> Of the various historic Wades, only one (*dux*) was contemporary with Offa, a Northumbrian who was prominent in an insurrection (*Sim. Durh. Hist. Reg.*, Rolls Series, 1885, CM and Chron. *Mailros.*, GALE, I, 1684, p. 140, an. 796).

<sup>5</sup> The fragmentary *chanson de geste*, *Gormon et Isenbart*, has nothing to do with the early Garmund (= Warmund, Wærmund, Wermund), but legends of the ninth-century Gormond may have helped to keep alive and confuse earlier tales.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Danish names: *Kunengikamp* (LANG., I, 152); *Konungskamp* (*ibid.*, I, 84); *Konincksfeldia* (MEYER, Opera, IX, 38B); *Koningheslap*, *Herm. Corn. Chron.* (ECCARDUS, Corp. Hist. Med. Æv., Leipzig, 1723, II, col. 476).

<sup>7</sup> V, 10, ll. 12, 24, 52; 11, l. 8.



in *V2* to have been the king's real name, *Offa* having been bestowed upon him by the Mercians in recognition of his likeness to *O1*.<sup>1</sup> The name *Pinefred* is evidently a blunder for *Winefred*;<sup>2</sup> and as *Winfred*<sup>3</sup> is found in several chronicles instead of *Dincgferþ*, we are justified in inferring a double blunder by virtue of which *Dincgferþ* has been converted into *Tuinfred* and *Pinefred*, the confusion of OE. *þ* and *p* being as common as *þ* and *ρ* (*w*). It is easy to see how, upon the differentiation of this name on some genealogical list, it might have been taken to refer to father and son.<sup>4</sup> Having decided that *Pinefred* was the true name, the compiler might naturally look upon *Offa* as a cognomen given by reason of some quality.<sup>5</sup> If a Latinist conceived that *Riganus* was so called from his *rigor*, *Hildebrand* from his *sword*, and that *Drida* became *Cyneðryð* when she was *queen*,<sup>6</sup> he might have supposed that *Offa* was so named from the fact that he was an *offa*, i. e., an abortion or monstrosity.<sup>7</sup> This explanation tallies with his description of the child as not only blind, deaf, and dumb, but also as lacking developed arms and legs until the miracle occurred.<sup>8</sup> Since *O2*'s likeness to *O1* is stated on the basis of the miracle rather than the battle (*quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis War-mundi*),<sup>9</sup> the intrusion of the miraculous element into *V1* may be explained as an attempt to combine the idea in the word *offa* with

<sup>1</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Fybba* = *Wipba*; *Eawa* = *Eapa*, *Epa* (HUNT., *Hist. Anglor. an.* 755; COTTON, *Hist. Anglicana*, Rolls Series, 1859; BROMTON, *Chronicon* in TWYSDEN, *an.* 755, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, London, 1652, col. 776, ll. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Wingferd* (Hunt.); *Winfred* (Cott.).

<sup>4</sup> Another suggestion, that instead of *Offa Dincgferþing*, *Dincgferþ Aanwulfing*, the relationship might have been represented as "*Offa, bearn Dincgferþes*" and misinterpreted to mean *born Dincgferþ* (*Pinefred*), receives a certain support from Gaimar's "*Fix Brand, fix Beldeging* (*Lestorie des Engles*, Rolls Series, 1888, ll. 839-41), *Fix Beldeg nez Winhing*: *Beldeg fu del linage Wodnez*," etc., which makes a very similar blunder, reading "*son of Beldeg born Winhing*" for "*son of Beldeg, son of Woden*." Does not *nez* here represent *bearn*, interpreted *born*?

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 2, 3, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *V*, 23, l. 25.

<sup>7</sup> The word means "*morsel*," "*shapeless lump*," hence "*abortion*." Is it possible that the form *Offanus* may have some bearing in this connection? The ending *-anus* means "*belonging to*" or "*derived from*" (KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, Hannover, 1877, I, 672, 673); hence, *rig(or)* gives *Riganus, offa, Offanus*.

<sup>8</sup> "*Fecit alices, brachia, crura, pedes, extendendo*" (*V*, 10, 54).

<sup>9</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 3, 4.

the common idea of *morio* in the old tale. There is, moreover, a certain justification for this compromise in the fact that tales of *Ungeborne* were as common as those of sluggish, unpromising heroes;<sup>1</sup> hence muteness might be attributed to physical defect as easily as to sulkiness,<sup>2</sup> and the miracle would explain everything and complete the parallel.

EDITH RICKERT.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Volsungr, Sigurðr, Sceaf* (1), *Uni, Ulfrun, Halfrun, Halfdan, Helgi, Starkaðr, Dietleib* (GRIMM, *Deutsche Myth.*, ed. MEYER, 1875, I, 322, 323).

<sup>2</sup> Once established in the case of O2, the identity of name alone is sufficient to carry the miracle back into V1.

## LOS MORISCOS DE HORNACHOS.

### II.

#### JORNADA SEGUNDA.

ESCENA I] (Sale FRANCISCO MERINO con vara de alguazil; LUIS BARÇO, y dos moros en abito de cristianos, el vno de Africa, el otro de Valencia y hable FRANCISCO MERINO.)

- Fol. 6, r. a Francisco Merino. Las cartas que nos aprouechamos dellos.  
 aueis traydo, Luis Barco. Y ¿adonde desembar- 745  
 moros y amigos amados, caron?  
 hazen que seais estimados ¿Donde es otros doze fueron?  
 y por fíee sean oy tenidos. ¿Hazia adonde se partieron?  
 Graçias a Mahoma santo, ¿La cuesta donde la degaron?  
 y graçias a su Alcoran, Que pareçe ques encanto  
 715 pues escriuen que haran salir \*catoze africanos 750  
 por el essos moros tanto. a meterse entre christianos,  
 Bien es que tengan coraje y poderse encubrir tanto.  
 contra \*aquestes enemigos. ¿Nadie les a dicho nada?  
 Sean los tiempos castigos ¿Tan desquidado esta todo?  
 720 como acaba su linage. Africano. Todo esta \*quito de modo 755  
 ¡Mueran \*aquestes christianos, que no hazen quenta de nada.  
 muera tan maldita gente! ¡Pluguiere Ala que se alsara  
 mas ¡la fortuna su frente oy toda la gente mora!  
 mostrara grata a ynumanos? questa cannalla traydora  
 725 \*Si con de Hornachos tengo muy facil se despachara. 760  
 poder, y mando tuuiera No tienen \*quidad alguno;  
 del mundo, lo destruuiera. los puertos vi desquidados,  
 ¿Que hago que me detengo? pobres y pocos soldados  
 Oy acabara en el suelo dados al ocio ymportuno.  
 730 la seta de los christianos, Valençiano. Pues \*los \*puertas de 765  
 y ensangrentara mis manos Valençia,  
 a pesar de tierra, cielo. son \*puertas para su daño,  
 Pero el tiempo va llegando, pues yo se adonde a vna \*nuestro  
 y va llegando la pena: que con poca resistencia  
 735 quel jueues sera de Çena, entrara qualquiera naçion; Fol. 6, v. a 770  
 y della saldra llorando. que ni soldado ni pieza  
 Pero dezime, Africanos, tenia la fortaleza,  
 ¿quien os dio aquessos vestidos ni ninguna munición.  
 para no ser conosidos? Ya sabeis ques tratado  
 740 Africano. Senor, son de dos chris- que para el jueues primero  
 tianos, de la Çena del Cordero 775  
 que como alla ay con ellos sea aqueste reyno asolado.  
 algunos ya renegados, Ya sabeis como Merino  
 para venir disfracados es rey de toda esta tierra;

- sabe lo que ay para guerra  
 780 en el reyno granadino,  
     en Valencia y su comarca,  
     en Aragon y Pamploña;  
     lo sabe qualquier persona,  
     y lo que este reyno abarca.
- 785 No ay moro en \*todo Castilla  
     a quien no \*sea auizado;  
     qualquiera es muy gran soldado.  
*Francisco Merino.* Aquesso me ma-  
     rauilla;  
     Valencia es tan bien armada,  
 790 tiene muchas munigiones.  
*Valençiano.* Oyeme en breues razones  
     y sabras lo que te agrada:  
     tiene \*treinte mill soldados  
     dispuestos para la guerra,  
 795 todos hijos de leones,  
     y exercitados en ella;  
     todos mançebos \*rebustos  
     moros como los de Meca,  
     la flor del reyno, escojidos,  
 800 de cazas y de sangre buenas,  
     muy parientes de Mahoma,  
     y enemigos de \*otro seta;  
     tienen de poluora minas  
     para gastar en las guerras,  
 805 balas, cuerda, hierro y plomo,  
     chuchas, dardos y rodellas,  
     bonbas, granadas de fuego,  
     mucha cuerda y escopettas;  
     y solo se aguarda el dia  
 Fol. 6, v. b  
 810 de aquella noche tan buena.  
*Francisco Merino.* ¡Mahoma nos  
     oyga, amigos,  
     como todos se lo \*rueguen!  
     Y ¡vos otros teneis gente,  
     para que al \*secorro venga ?  
 815 *Africano.* Mucha gente y muy lucida.  
     ¡Mueran los christianos, mueran !  
*Barco.* Contad nos vuestro viaje,  
     que paresse cosa nueua  
     auer venido los dos,  
 820 de tan \*leungos a esta tierra.  
*Africano.* \*Catoze fuemos nombra-  
     dos,  
     que con ossadia ynmensa,
- nos atreuimos sauer  
 de \*los espanolas fronteras;  
 saber su disinio y orden,  
 y reconosser sus fuersças.  
 Partimos; desembarcamos  
 entre Malaga y Maruella  
 en vna escondida \*calla,  
 —ques a<sup>1</sup> vela gente nuestra,—  
 825 donde jamas el cristiano  
 piso el margen ni la arena  
 de aquella frondosa playa,  
 aun ques en su tierra misma.  
 Alli degamos la fusta,  
 830 que por ser algo \*pequeno  
 \*puedo estar entre los ramos  
 muy segura y encubierta.  
 De alli partimos nos todos  
 tomando siete veredas,  
 y den dos en dos uenimos,  
 840 como \*vez, desta manera  
 todos lleuan los recaudos  
 que os dimos. \*Yua<sup>2</sup> en Valencia  
 se sabe como aqui mismo  
 por relacion \*verdadero.  
 Queremos saber en suma,  
 845 quanta gente abra de guerra,  
 y que puedan \*pellar,  
 en Castilla nueua y \*veiija,  
 Andalusia, Estremadura,  
 en Granada y en la Vera,  
 y en dos pueblos que ay de moros:  
 Benquerenua y Magaçela;  
 y ansi en aqueste lugar,  
 850 que sea hecha cabeçera  
 de todo lo que e nombrado.  
 Quiero que me dais la quenta,  
 porque es tiempo de partir,  
 que abra ya algunos de buelta  
 855 en la parte que e contado  
 que nuestra \*fuesta se queda.  
 No nos detengais ya mas;  
 entrad ay en \*vuestro audiencia,  
 y dadme lo por letra y suma,  
 lo que pido.
- Francisco Merino.* Nora buena.  
 Uamos, que Hernando Merino  
 mi tio, tiene por quenta

<sup>1</sup> Read que esa.<sup>2</sup> Read Ya.

870 todos los moros soldados  
que estan para la \*refreiga.  
875 \*Y ; que \*llega Ala, venga el dia  
quando la vuestra y mi tierra  
de guerra quede sin tiranos,  
asta que todos perescan !

Valenciano. ¿Y a mi tambien me 875  
dareis  
despachos?  
Barco. En el audiencia  
a todos daran recaudo.  
Vamos porque se prouengan.

880 (Vanse y salen JUAN DE CHAUES, el LICENCIADO MOLINA, ALONSO MATIAS y el letrado  
con los papeles.)

Licenciado Molina. Pierdan de  
aquesto cuidado,  
885 que ya se sabe otra cossa  
que nos a escandalizado,  
885 y le es al rey muy odiosa  
essa jente.

7, r. b Chaues. A se tratado  
en el consejo de embiar  
885 vn juez que sea \*regurosa  
que no tenga en nada el dar,  
a este pueblo caudiloso  
quel ve lo<sup>1</sup> quiere asolar.

Molina. Oy se a de entrar en  
consejo,  
890 y pues ay \*buena parejo,<sup>2</sup>  
\*propondera alli las querellas;  
aun que mas apellan dellas,  
me an de \*excuchar, pues me quejo.  
Y tambien nos viene a quenta  
895 la muger que a querellado  
del juez de la pimienta.

Alonso Matias. Muera este pueblo  
maluado,  
855 y vayase por mi quenta.  
¿Que a Gil Ximenez mataron?  
900 ¿ay mayores tiranias?  
¿en que estos perros fundaron  
su maldad?

880 Molina. En bouerias.  
Chaues. Como aquessos enteraron  
¡biue Dios! que se que an  
muerto  
905 mientras y[o] estoy en Ornachos  
mas de ciento.

Molina. Aqueso es cierto;  
ay le diran los despachos  
por letras al desguiberto.  
Elo viene bien prouado,  
que se hizo con cuidado, 910  
y esse es el original  
de todo su bien ó mal.

Molina. Ello se \*ponnera a recaudo;  
no se \*pierdera ni vn punto  
de lo que me aueis contado, 915  
que yo lo propondre \*gunto.

Alonso Matias. Senor, con \*mucha  
cuidado;  
no permitais que enemigos  
ocupen tan noble tierra.  
Pueblese el lugar de amigos, 920  
arda en fuego aquella sierra.

Molina. Los tiempos seran testigos; Fol. 7, v. a  
y porque \*audencia an llamado,  
os podeis los dos quedar.

Chaues. Senor, lo que os e rogado,— 925

Molina. Bien se puede desquidar,  
que oy quedera despachado. (Vase)  
[Alonso Matias.] Chaues amigo, no  
quiero  
mientras el pleyto se trate,  
que otro ninguno relate 930  
si no vos.

880 Chaues. Hazer lo espero;  
Yo quiero ser el relator,  
que aunque sepa condenarse, Fol. 7, v. b  
tambien suele aqui reuocarse,  
ques el dinero traydor. 935  
Ni a de auer baldo ujason,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps que el suelo (suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan).

<sup>2</sup> Read buen aparejo.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Baldo u Jason, i. e., law books. Baldus de Ubaldis, born at Perugia, died 1400, was a writer of works on jurisprudence. Cf. MICHAUD, *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. II, p. 668.

Jason de Mayno, born at Pesaro, 1435, died 1519, was a famous exponent of Roman law. Cf. MICHAUD, Vol. XXVI, p. 145. (Suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan.)

porque a vn punto cohechado,  
sin estar nada dañado,  
le suelen dar vn boton.

Nosotros lo seguiremos,

940  
Fol. 7, v.  
[ESCENA III]

(*Vanse, y salen DON PEDRO MANSO, LICENCIADO BOHORQUES, DON DIEGO LOPES DE AYALA y DON FRANCISCO DE CONTRERAS, todos oydores, y MOLINA, fiscal; y pongan los asientos en un estrado como en tales usos se ponen, y el del presidente mas alto.*)

*Don Pedro Manso.* Yo e tenido \*los  
cosas de Hornachos

945 por ningunas, a fee de cauallero;  
pero ya van cantando los mucha-  
chos  
sus males y su vida, considero  
despachese alla vn juez, lleue des-  
pachos  
con que castigue aquesse \*pueblo  
fiero,

950 porque es justa razon sacar d'  
España

dentre la fiel semilla, esta \*cicaña;  
que se prueua que son façinero-  
sos

y enemigos de todos los christianos,  
bandoleros crueles, reboltosos,  
955 omicidas traydores y ynhumanos,  
al cielo y a la tierra muy odiosos,  
y que no aya quien mete aqui \*los  
manos.

Justicia \*sa a de hazer, consejo pido  
contra este \*pueblo barbaro, atre-  
uido.

960 ¿Paresceos que se embie vna  
persona  
de pecho y de valor contra esta  
jente?

*Bohorques.* Escucheme, señor. Aun-  
que no abona

mi pecho aquesse pueblo ynperti-  
nente,

agora no se \*vea que a la Corona  
le ayan hecho trayçion.

965 *Molina.* Vuesencia intente  
que luego se despache, no ay du-  
dallo,  
porque \*seruiar a Dios el assolallo.

A tantos salteadores y omicidas  
como ay en este pueblo, es caso  
gierto

que para dar peticiones  
y algunas buenas razones,  
\*entiendimiento tenemos.

ques lo mejor que acaben con las 970  
vidas

la pena de sus \*locos \*concierto.

*Contreras.* \*No es tan sus culpas  
destos sabida,

y para que este caso no sea ynçierto,  
es bien mirallo no solo vna vez.

*Molina.* Mirad si pido con razon el 975  
juez.

Mirad estos papeles, que testi-  
gos

seran de confession que no la an  
hecho,

y aqui vereis si aquestos enemigos  
tienen ynfame y barbaro pecho.

De Mahoma son intimos amigos, 980  
y el Alcoran les sirue de derecho

para todos sus males \*cuidados.

Mirad si es bien que sean \*casti-  
gades.

Aqui el cura del pueblo querella,  
y delante del rey lo a relatado.

*Bohorques.* Ya lós pobrettes tienen 985  
esa estrella;

quiça no sera tanto su pecado.

*Molina.* Sin duda vos, señor, no  
éstais en ella;

es posible que nos estais \*ymfor-  
maddo;

pues escuchad sus males y traçiones, 990  
en muy breues y façiles razones:

(*Abre los papelles y lee les MOLINA.*)

Cuenca, cura de Hornachos,  
digo que yo e confessado  
\*muchos, y a ningunos no e hallado  
pecados, y no muchachos. 995

Tambien dizen mas testigos,  
— todos los ynquisidores, —  
que los dan por mal hechores,  
declarados enemigos;

que oyen missa por fuerça, 1000

y con muy poco respeto;  
que son moros en efeto,  
y no ay quien de aqui los tuerça.

¿Que? ¿ves que auido entrellos?

1005 Dize que son allebosos  
y ladrones muy famosos;  
aqui no ay que defendellos.

Esto es quanto a lo del cura.

1010 Pues Chaues tiene aqui escritos  
muchos mayores delitos,  
y la \*venganca procura.

Dize que no cren en Dios,  
y que son tan desalmados  
que a los santos consagrados  
quemán. Y otros dos

1015 dizen \*que la caza pia  
de la Virgen del Remedio,  
por afrenta y vituperio  
ganado se recogia.

1020 Y otros delitos atroces  
que yre, señor, relatando.  
Pero ¿quien viene alli dando  
tan apassionadas boces?

(Sale vna muger con manto, llorando.)

Muger. Dexen llegar a vna triste  
1025 muger, y desconsolada,  
antes biuda que casada,  
en quien el dolor assiste.

¿Justicia, señor, justicia!  
pues ymitais la del cielo,  
1030 tenelda agora en el suelo;  
castigad tan gran malicia.

Don Pedro Mansso. Lleuantad os,  
muger onrada,  
dezi me vuestra querella:

¿sois biuda o sois donçella?

1035 Muger. De aquessas dos no soy nada.  
Don Pedro. Pues dezime lo que  
aueis,

y quien os trae dessa suerte.

Muger. Vna lastimosa suerte  
que si me escuchais sabreis.

(Vanse y salen HERNANDO MERINO y YZQUIERDO solos.)

1040 Hernando. Para lo que os e llamado  
y lo que dezir os quiero,  
mi amigo y \*compainero,  
nos a de causar çuidado.

Señor, yo soy la muger  
de Ximenez de Aragon,  
alguazil de la pimienta  
que otro juez vuestro nombro,  
desgraciada en todo estremo,  
pues el dichoso murio

1040

entre los moros de Ornachos  
con martirio de dolor.  
Aura diez meses que falta,  
y andandole a buscar yo  
por los pueblos donde fue  
con su triste commission,  
me \*dixeren que en Ornachos  
entro vn dia, y no salio;

1045

1050

1055

y de vn muchacho christiano  
tuue çierta relacion,  
como le hizieron pedassos.  
¿\*Justiça, noble señor!  
que no es bien que aya en Espana,  
\*ni viua, tan mala naçion.

Don Pedro. ¿Que os paresçe deste  
caso

Fol. 8, v. b

y vna maldad tan atroz?  
¿estos son grandes delitos!  
Vaya vn juez, \*partese oy;  
dese luego al secretario  
que escriua la commission,  
y \*remitese a Madera,  
ques persona de valor.

1065

Bohorques. Digo que es justo hazello.  
Contreras. Es justicia y razon.

Don Pedro. Yd en paz, muger onrada,  
que antes que se ponga el sol  
saldra vn rayo para Ornachos.

1070

Muger. Vuestra vida aumente Dios,  
y canten \*vuestro \*alabanca  
\*en los lugares alto.

1075

Don Pedro. Vamos a hablar al rey.  
Ayala. Juntos yremos los dos;  
¿es ya ora?

Bohorques. Señor si,  
ya dio las onze el reloj.



- sabed que dos labradores  
 vezinos de la Pedrossa,  
 1090 oy con muerte rigurosa  
 se acabaran sus dolores;  
 estos son dos obligados  
 de carne alla, de su tierra,  
 y vienen en aquesta sierra  
 1095 con ynfinitos ducados.  
 An me comprado el ganado,  
 y vengose lo a entregar;  
 y ansi me aueis de ayudar  
 a que lo pierdan doblado.  
 1100 Seis mill ducados me dieron;  
 sin quitar vn \*marauadi,  
 todos yuntos los meti  
 en el arca y se encerraron.  
 No an de lleuar el ganado,  
 1105 ni el dinero an de lleuar,  
 porque \*lo he de matar,  
 que ya esta ansi sentenciado.  
 A los moços del ganado  
 se lo dixe esta mañana,  
 1110 y dizen que de buena gana.  
 Yzquierdo. Pues que ay si perder  
 cuidado:<sup>1</sup>  
 si los moços an de \*hazerllo  
 y tu tienes sentenciado,  
 yo te ayudare de grado;  
 1115 ¿que ay mas sino obedegello?  
 que luego a de ser su fin.  
 ¿Donde an de ser enterrados?  
 Hernando. Hecheran estos malua-  
 dos  
 a la puente de San Martin.  
 1120 Pero paresce que vienen  
 por aquella questa abajo.  
 Yzquierdo. Ellos trayen harto tra-  
 bajo;  
 paresce que se detienen.  
 (Salen PEDRO DE LA CRUZ y JUAN DE  
 BUENOS con capas \*pardo como marchan<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pedro de la +. Juan de Buenos ¿no  
 es aquesta  
 1125 la huerta do esta Merinò?  
 Juan de Buenos. Si no se a herrado  
 el camino,  
 paresgeme a mi ques esta.  
 Aqui otra vez le pagamos  
 los mill y treinta chibatos.  
 Pedro de la +. ¿Quales fueron los 1130  
 baratos?  
 Hernando. ¿Que ay, buena gente?  
 aca estamos;  
 ¿vendreis por vuestro ganado?  
 Juan de Buenos. Senor, si.  
 Hernando. ¡Ola, criados!  
 (Salen dos o tres pastores, o mas.)  
 Pastor 1°. ¿Que mandas? di tus qui- 1135  
 dados.  
 Hernando. Haze lo que os e man-  
 dado:  
 daldes el ganado luego;  
 ydos luego a despachar.  
 Pastor 1°. Mejor diras a pagar  
 de tus desseos el fuego.  
 (Sacan todos cuchillos y matentos.)  
 Juan de Buenos. Jesus, Madre del 1140  
 Cordero,  
 a vos offresco mi alma.  
 Pastor 2°. ¡No leuareis vos tal palma,  
 ni chibato, ni carnero!  
 ¡Con las ansias de la muerte  
 yua el cordero llamando!  
 1145 Hernando. Nombralo que anda tra-  
 tando.  
 Pastor 1°. Pues ya \*tenessio su suerte,  
 ¿que quieres que hagamos de-  
 llos?  
 Pastor 2°. ¿\*queires que sean enter-  
 rados?  
 1150 Hernando. En Matachel sean echa-  
 dos  
 donde nadie pueda vellos;  
 con vnas pesgas atados  
 los echareis en el rio,  
 y que \*los hareis bien, confio.  
 Pastor 1°. Aquietense tus cuidados; 1155  
 ea, vamos a desnudallos,  
 que no es malo este vestido.  
 Hernando. Hazed luego lo que os  
 pido.  
 Pastor 2°. Luego partimos a echallos.

<sup>1</sup> Read Pues ay de porder cuidado:<sup>2</sup> Read marchantes (?).

(Vase, y salen BARCO, CAPATA, y una muger con vn niño en brazos, que vienen de lauar, y los que pueden con ellos, y ALUARO GONSALES, el viejo y el moco.)

1160 Barco. Muy bien sea desbautizado.

Capata. Agale muy buen prouecho.

Barco. Lleuo muy grande cuidado.

Aluaro Gonsales, el moco. ¿De que?

Barco. No sosiega el pecho asta auerlo retajado.

1165 Cumplamos con el precepto que Mahoma nos a dado,

questoy confuso, prometo,

en ver que tanto a tardado

\*esta alto tan prefeto.

1170 Vamos adonde se haga,

ques bien que se satisfaga

a vn profeta tan onrado.

Aluaro Gonsales, viejo. ¡Alto! ¡a salir de cuidado!

ques justo se \*satisfaga.

(Salen HERNANDO MERINO y YZQUIERDO.)

1175 Pero alli viene Merino,

y Yzquierdo viene a su lado.

Aluaro Gonsales, moco. Salgamos al camino.

Vos seais muy bien llegado.

¿Como, suegro, uenis mohino?

1180 Decid ma que a sucedido:

¿como venis tan callado?

¿que desgracia auéis tenido?

Hernando. ¿Como estais tan desquidado?

pues vn alcalde a venido,

1185 abrir los ojos conuiene.

Oy nuestro daño preuiene;

en estos actos forcosos

se muestran los animosos,

\*y quien mas valor tiene;

1190 que \*sý no uiera salido

a vn caso que aquí a sabido

Yzquierdo, que fue prouecho,

ya yo supiera de su pecho

y que es a lo que a venido.

1195 ¿No fuera bien questuiera vno o dos atalayando

para quando este veniera, y no andar desbautizando muchachos desta manera?

Vamos todos a hablalle,

1200

procuramos contentalle, hagamosle mill presentes, questo allana \*ynconuinentes: el rogalle y el untalle.

(Sale TAMIME.)

Tamime. ¡O que talle tien el potó

Fol. 9, v. b

de ser amego de mel!

1206

Ques hombre de pecho en goto.

¡Alto! ¡colmenas en el!

Comencar a dar treboto,

no ay sino a el lleuen pressente;

1210

ea, coda toda la gente

con passa e hego passado,

e datels ensaçonado,

e agua \*claro de la fuente.

No lleuar veno e toçino

1215

que Mahoma lo auedado,

quando aquel moro mesquino

en el mesquita sagrado

logo meto.

Aluaro Gonsales. ¿Quando vino?

Tamime. Veniera aquesta mañana

1220

con gran zambra y gran ruido

toda jente muy ofana.

Barco. ¿Que ninguno no lo vido!

Capata. No se esperaua con gana.

¡Alto! vamos a hablalle.

1225

Tamime. ¿Se poder que no veo talle?

Que se<sup>2</sup> hazer frayle luego;

saber mucho.

Hernando. ¡A, de mal fuego

arda el conuento!

Tamime. Asquchalle;

nos<sup>3</sup> oyga algun christianillo,

1230

que andan por aqui qinquenta,

y vaya luego a dezillo.

Tener con el ablar quenta.

Hernando. No ay quien ya pueda sufrillo.

<sup>1</sup> Read through Tamime's speech: puto, amigo, miel, enjuto, tributo; ea, acuda, higo; vino, lujo.

<sup>2</sup> Que se for quiere se(?).

<sup>3</sup> nos = no os.

1235 Vamos a ver si podemos  
hablar con este hombre onrado,  
veremos lo que tenemos.  
*Barco.* Vamos primero al letrado,  
y del nos ynformaremos.

Fol. 10, r.  
[ESCENA VI]

(*Vanse. Sale el LICENCIADO MOLINA solo. Ade auer vn altar, y en el vn \*crusefizo; y se hinca de \*rodillos y ay \*musico y dize MADERA.*)

1245 *Madera.* Padre y Senor diuino,  
fabricador de todo lo criado,  
declarad me el camino  
por donde este negocio sea guiado,  
pues vos lo sabeis todo,  
1250 que yo soy peccador y hecho de lodo.

Letrado \*siempiterno,  
sumo saber, y sciencia no aprendida,  
hazedor del ynfierno,  
y del cielo donde ay vida complida,  
1255 aclarad mi sentido,  
no le \*pongo en las aguas del oluido.

Virgen de los Remedios  
por quien e de boluer en esta yn-  
presa,

ymbiad me vos los medios,  
1300 soberana pringessa;  
y vos, Francisco amado,  
sed en mis cosas siempre mi abo-  
gado.

En \*vostra cassa quiero,  
Padre, tener posada y no en Orna-  
chos;

1265 en vos, \*Franssisco, espero.  
Guidad me, seraphin, en mis des-  
pachos,  
que con tal sustituto,  
no dudo de quen todo vuestra<sup>2</sup> buen  
fruto.

Grandes son los peccados  
1270 que este pueblo, mi Dios, a cometido;  
viuen desenfrenados,  
sin alma, sin conciencia ni sentido,  
y pues juez me an hecho,  
quiero que me alenteis aqueste  
pecho.

1275 Conosco que soy hombre,

<sup>1</sup> For gñotes.

<sup>2</sup> In the MS this word is represented by its usual abbreviation: *vra*; the proper reading is perhaps *voa*.

*Tamime.* Escocha: auer letrado, 1240  
el viuir con gran cuidado,  
e guardar de los ganotes,<sup>1</sup>  
los cordelles y garotes  
que trae el reñien llegado.

y por vos e de ser tambien \*jugado;  
y ansi es bien que me asombre  
aun que estoy en este oficio leuan-  
tado;

que si \*jugos en el suelo,  
vos sois el juez, mi Dios, de tierra 1250  
y cielo.

Quiero llamar mi jente,  
que no es tiempo destar tan des- Fol. 1  
cuidados;  
agase lo presente,  
despachar quiero luego mill re-  
caudos.

(*Toca vna campanilla, y sale Ronc-  
quillo, alguasil.*)

¡Ola, gente!

*Ronquillo.* Senor,— 1260  
*Madera.* El seçretario.

*Ronquillo.* Aqui esta.  
*Mader.* Venga ques neçesario;

Llamaldo que se tarda.  
¿No sabe que sin el no hago cosa?  
Venga ya ¡a que aguarda?

*Ronquillo.* Haziendo alguna cosa 1265  
estara, que no \*estan desquidado.  
(*Vase.*)

*Madera.* Dezid que venga aqui y  
traiga recaudo.

(*Salen JUAN DE PINA, seçretario, con  
oficiales y VINCENTE, alguasil.*)

*Ronquillo.* El seçretario, senor, viene, Col. 1  
y con el tres oficiales  
que en seruirte \*puntiales  
seran en lo que conuienne.

*Pina, sec.* Sea usarced<sup>3</sup> bien leuan-  
tado.

¿Como esta noche le a ydo?

<sup>3</sup> The MS has *V<sup>ma</sup>*.

*Madera.* Muy bien, muy bien e dormido,

1300 y esto ya muy descansado.

Descansado no a de estar  
el que viene a lo que vengo,  
y ansi lo que me detengo  
es para mas me cansar.

1305 Embiad a Juan de Lerena,

a Ribera, a los alcaldes;  
de my parte auizaldes  
tengan vna cargel buena,  
porque alli quiero que esten

1310 los mas principales presos,  
que son los moros trauiessos,  
y en Ornachos no estan bien.

*Pina, sec.* Esta muy bien acordado  
\*echar los ricos fuera,

1315 porque de aquesta manera  
va el negocio mas callado.

*Madera.* Yo jure solenemente

Col. b a Dios y al rey my señor,

1320 de satisfacer su onnor  
muy fiel, y muy diligente;

y assi quiero agora aqui  
para estar satisfecho  
de \*leallaltad de mi pecho,  
me lo prometais a my.

1325 *Pina, sec.* Pues yo jurare primero,

señor, porque este seguro:  
a este pecho abierto, juro,  
y a este ynocente Cordero,

1330 de ser en mi oficio fiel,

diligente, mudo y ciego;  
que ni dadiuas ni ruego  
no boraran mi papel;

que no dare firma en blanco,  
ni reçibere \*cochechos.

1335 ¿Basta, señor, lo que \*hecho?

*Madera.* Si, basta, que ese es el blanco.

*Vincente.* Juro por Dios consagrado,  
y por su madre bendita

cuya ayuda soligita  
mi pecho en fuego abrasado,

1340

de no reçibir por mi  
ni por persona terçera,  
en letra ó de otra manera,  
joya, prenda, ni vn \*qiti.

*Ronquillo.* Sea con rigor castigado, Fol. 11, r. a

señor piadoso y clemente,  
si yo fuera deste jente  
con dadiuas \*cochechado;

1346

yo prendere a qualquiera  
que se me mande prender,  
aun que auenture a perder  
mi vida, ó de otra manera.

1350

*Madera.* Mucho me aueis obligado;

yo quedo muy satifecho  
deste juramento hecho,  
que cada qual a jurado.

1355

*Ronquillo.* Alonso Matias a llegado.

*Madera.* Y Chaues con el.

*Ronquillo.* ¿Tambien Chaues?

*Madera.* Los dos an de ser \*los  
llaues Fol. 11, r. b

desto que se a comencado,  
quen las cosas de la tierra  
tienen los dos gran notiçia;  
y inporta a nuestra justiçia,  
pues saben tambien la sierra.

1360

Esçriuid los \*mandamintos,  
que ya veis ques tiempo y ora  
de que \*este canalla mora  
\*cabe, y sus pensamientos.

1365

Vamos, que e de dar \*audençia  
por oy en todo el dia;  
a de cessar la porfia  
de la morisca inprudençia.

1370

(Fin.)

### JORNADA TERÇERA.

(Salen HERNANDO MERINO, ALVARO GONSALES, viejo y moço y LUIS CORDOUES.)

*Hernando.* Que no h[e] podido hablar  
al juez despues que a llegado,  
que contino esta ençerrado.

1375 *Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* Vn santo  
es, no ay que dudar.

Yo y Barco y Çapata entramos,

y le dixo el guardian:  
señor, tres hombres estan  
esperando,—y no le ablamos.

1380

Dixo nuestras calidades,  
y que eramos jente onrada;  
y ¡sin reparar en nada

- de dinero o dinidades!  
 1385 Salimos sin le hablar.  
 Su recato es de manera  
 que pienso aun que el rey fuera,  
 fuera ynpossible el entrar.  
*Aluaro, viejo.* Es vn alcalde del  
 ynfierno;  
 1390 todo lo tray arruynnado,  
 \*per todo ombre esta amedrentado;  
 [Fol. 11 r. b] como no ay otro gouierno,  
 lo que el hiziere esta hecho.  
 A, Mahoma soberano,  
 1395 acaba, da nos la mano.  
 Aga tu Alcoran prouecho;  
 con el regimos nos todos,  
 todas sus oras rezamos,  
 por momentos lo pasamos  
 1400 desde el tiempo de los godos.  
 Buelue y pon aqui tu mano,  
 \*sagrada profeta mio,  
 en cuya bondad confio  
 como en su Dios el christiano.  
 1405 Si nuestra sangre es la tuya,  
 ¿porque estas tan remontado?  
 ¿porque, di nos, as abajado?  
 ¿porque a miedo no se arguya?  
 Pero si \*estais enojado,  
 1410 dinos lo que aqui te aremos:  
 ¿de oro puro que adoremos  
 [Fol. 11, v. a] vn tu retrato sagrado?  
 No quedera por peresça  
 para tu seruigio cosça,  
 1415 y asta el fenis \*milagrossa  
 se offresçiera a tu grandessa.  
 Merino ¿vos no teneis  
 a Mahoma en vuestra caza?  
*Hernando.* Si, con voluntad no es-  
 cassa  
 1420 le siruo, como sabeis.  
 Vamos con \*mucho olores  
 de peuetes y pastillas  
 y odoriferas pomillas  
 de diferentes colores  
 1425 a \*perfimar la mesquita  
 y arroçiar el altar  
 para poder aplacar  
 el mal que nos solçita.
- (*Salen RONQUILLO y VINCENTE, alguaziles.*)  
*Ronquillo.* Con su cordura pretende  
 lleuar sus cossas Madera. 1430  
*Vincente.* Es buen juez y considera  
 las cossas, el sentiente.  
 O senores,—  
*Hernando.* Bien venidos.  
*Ronquillo.* Y ellos sean bien hallados,  
 rato a que an sido buscados. 1435  
*Aluaro, viejo.* Manden, que seran  
 seruidos.  
*Ronquillo.* Mandamos solo que ven-  
 gan<sup>1</sup>  
 presos.  
*Hernando.* ¿Porque ocasion?  
*Vincente.* Porque lo \*mande el alcalde,  
 y no venimos de balde 1440  
 a hazer esta prision.  
*Aluaro, moço.* ¿Tambien nos otros?  
 ¿Reniego . . . !  
*Vincente.* ¿De quien?  
*Aluaro, moço.* De algun traydor  
 que por embidia y rencor  
 a leuantado este fuego, 1445  
 que son del mundo carcoma,  
 y algo nos an lleuantado.  
*Ronquillo.* Pense que era el negar todo  
 de su querido Mahoma. [Fol. 12, r.]  
 Vengan, que ya nos tardamos,  
 1450 que luego an de yr a Ribera.  
*Hernando.* Hablemos de \*otro ma-  
 nera,  
 que aca mejor los tratamos.  
 Este se quedo Mahoma,  
 que aqui no lo conocemos. 1455  
*Ronquillo.* Nos otros, si.  
*Hernando.* No sabemos.  
*Vincente.* ¿O mala rauia los coma!  
 Vengan, que esta ya aguardando  
 quien los tiene de lleuar.  
 Dexensse de tanto hablar 1460  
 ¿por Dios! que no es burlando.  
*Ronquillo.* Oluidense de çuidados,  
 y no sean habladores.  
*Aluaro, viejo.* Vamos, \*ymfames,  
 traydores,  
 \*yo pienso veros todos quemados. 1465

<sup>1</sup> This is an isolated line.

ENA II]

(Vanse todos y salen MADERA, JUAN DE CHAUES, y ALONSO MATIAS.)

*Madera.* Señor Chaues, con çuidado  
se despache ese reçado,  
y auisad a los testigos  
destos pueblos.

*Chaues.* Doze amigos,

1470 señor, se an examinado,  
y por Tamariz an ydo  
a la villa de \*Erena;  
no se como no a venido,  
y fue la cosa mas buena  
1475 de quanto aqui se a aduertido.

*Madera.* Tambien fueron por Panete  
que esta preso en Portugal.  
Esse vido diez y siete  
muertos en vn mes.

*Madera.* ¿Ay tal?

1480 ; Triste fin se les promete!

Y vos, Alonso Matias,  
pues sois hombre de caudal,  
seguid todas estas vias,  
pues sois ya mi fiscal,  
1485 accusa estas tiranias.

1445 Fol. 12. r. a No os quede por negligencia  
lo que encargo de conçiencia,  
lo que vn fiscal esta obligado.

*Alonso Matias.* Señor, perde esse  
çuidado,

1490 que vereis mi diligencia;  
en la \*audencia que se hiziere,  
se \*hechera de ver mi çelo.  
Vuestra merced considere  
que aqueste es onor del çielo,  
1495 \*y pague lo el que lo deuiera.

Yo defiendo la justiçia,  
ellos nieguen su malicia;  
que yo no quiero letrado,  
que yo \*sera el abogado.

1500 *Madera.* Eso si, tener codicia,—  
pero aqui viene Ronquillo  
sudando y apresurado.

(Sale RONQUILLO solo.)

*Ronquillo.* Quisiera que en el cas-  
tillo

fueran sus presiones \*dado,  
1505 ques neçedad el pedillo;  
mejor estara alla fuera  
presa \*aqueste jente fiera.

*Madera.* ¿Que ay tan apresurado?

*Ronquillo.* Dezirte que an lleuado  
estos presos a Ribera. 1510

Sali asta medio camino,  
y algo fatigado vengo.

*Madera.* Aquese fue desatino.

¿Fuistes a pie?

*Ronquillo.* Y no tengo  
pie que no venga mohino. 1515

*Madera.* Prended luego el regimiento.

*Ronquillo.* Señor, ya yo tengo pres-  
sos  
todos los mas.

*Madera.* Gran contento  
reçibo, ¿quantos son esos?

*Ronquillo.* Yo los tengo por assiento. 1520

*Madera.* ¿Trais ay el memorial?

*Ronquillo.* Si, señor.

*Madera.* Dasele luego

a Alonso Matias, fiscal,  
porque aqueste pueblo çiego Fol. 12 r. b  
los accuse de su mal. 1525

Leed la memoria, que quiero  
saber los hombres que ay presos;  
dezid sus nombres primero,  
assi \*sabrá por esos  
quien falta.

*Alonso Matias.* Leo.

*Madera.* Ya espero. 1530

*Alonso Matias.* Pressos: Hernando  
Merino,

Aluaro Gonsales, viejo y moço,  
Luis Barco, el estimado,  
Hernando Tello,  
Hernando Tello, el gastado, 1535

Aluaro Cordoues,  
Aluaro de Soria,  
Lope Merino, el viejo,  
Hernando Cabrera,  
Francisco Merino, 1540

sus hijos;  
Luis Cordoues, el viejo,  
Aluaro Cordoues Plumaje  
y Luis Cordoues, sus hijos;  
Aluaro de Soria, el viejo, 1545  
y Aluaro de Soria, su hijo;  
estos son los mas ricos y regidores,

- y estan en otra carcel.  
 Lope de Cayas, escriuano,  
 1550 Aluaro de Perales, rico,  
 Diego Garcia, trinchilla,  
 Grabiél Garcia,  
 Grabiél Palombo, el moço,  
 Alonso Maican, olleró,  
 1555 Alonso Maican, su hijo;  
 Francisco, carpintero,  
 Rodrigo, \*espíeçero,  
 Francisco, \*mancano,  
 1560 Diego Perez, \*tressó,  
 Diego Frances,  
 Hernando Blanco, escriuano,  
 Luis, barrillero,  
 Fol. 12, v. a Diego de Contreras,  
 Diego Ortiz,  
 1565 Alonso Gomes Chauesquina,  
 Diego de Bendiehaque,  
 Grauiel Palombo, el viejo,  
 Garcia Ruuió, el viejo,  
 Alonso Yzquierdo,  
 1570 Juan Marques, escriuano.  
 Estos son los questan pressos,  
 y otros que estan condenados.  
*Madera.* Aora bastan aquessos,  
 que es otros seran cansados.  
 1575 Aganse luego proçessos.  
 A cada vno su cabeça  
 de proçesso se le aga,  
 y porque vaya mas llanesça,  
 ques bien que se satisfaga  
 a cada qual.  
 1580 *Chaues.* Gran nobleça,  
 justo juez, recto y sabio,  
 sin embustos ni codicia.  
*Alonso Matias.* No hara a ninguno  
 agrauio  
 sin rason, ni sin justicia.  
 (Salen JUAN DE PINA, secretario, VIN-  
 CENTE y TAMARIZ.)  
 1585 *Juan de Pina.* No meneis vos el labio;  
 hasta que seais preguntado  
 no hableis.  
*Tamariz.* \*Pierda quidado  
 que yo hable alguna cossa  
 que a nadie le sea odiosa.
- Vincente.* O señor,—  
*Madera.* Seais bien llegado. 1590  
 Dezid ¿es aqueste el testigo?  
*Vincente.* Si, señor.  
*Madera.* ¿Sois vos, amigo,  
 el porque yo tengo embiado?  
*Tamariz.* Si, señor.  
*Madera.* Yo me e holgado.  
 Secretario, oyd que os digo:  
 solamente este el fiscal 1595  
 junto con vos, no otro alguno,  
 que para su bien o mal  
 no es menester a ninguno.  
*Chaues.* Grande ynjenio, gran caudal. 1600  
 Salgamonos todos fuera;  
 muy bien esta lo acordado:  
 solo este el \*desaminado.  
 Viuas mill años, *Madera*,  
 de tan gran sciencia dotado. 1605  
 (Vanse, y quedan MADERA, ALONSO  
 MATIAS, PINA, secretario, y TAMARIZ.)  
*Pina.* *Tamariz*, la cruz, ermano,  
 haze para el juramento.  
*Tamariz.* Ve la aqui \*hecho al mo-  
 mento  
 como la haze el christiano.  
*Pina.* ¿Que jurais a Dios y a ella 1610  
 de dezir verdad en suma?  
 [Tamariz.] Si, juro, y que me con-  
 suma  
 Dios, si yo esse \*diere<sup>1</sup> della.  
 [Pina.] ¿Que jurais como christiano  
 de no negar la verdad? 1615  
 No escriuiais nada; aguardad,  
 llegaos aqia aqui, hermano,  
 pone sobre aquesta cruz  
 la mano, questoy contento;  
 que basta por juramento 1620  
 de vuestra palabra la luz.  
 Salga aqui lo que sabeis  
 del bien ó mal desta jente.  
*Tamariz.* Yo lo dire diligente;  
 escuchad me y lo sabreis:  
 En esta desdichada, ynfeliz 1625  
 tierra,  
 —que aqueste nombre con rason  
 le viene,

<sup>1</sup> Read essediero for excediero.



pues tanta falsedad y mal encierra  
que Argel y Tetuan mas piedad  
tiene,—

mirad que a descubierto hazen su  
guerra,  
y destos la maldad no ay quien  
\*frene,

pues con color de que estos son  
amigos,

no tiene España mayores enemigos.  
Bienen como en Argel, y adoran  
todos

el nombre vil del falso y mal pro-  
feta,  
y le hazen sacrificio de mill modos,  
guardando en todo el orden de su  
seta.

¿Que Dioclegianos fueron, ni que  
\*Commodos

de crueldad mas dura ni perfeta,  
questos crueles, ympios, y tiranos  
lo son con los catolicos christianos?

Doze anos aura que fui a  
\*Lerena

a entregarme yo mismo al Santo  
Officio,

por ver que aquella vida no era  
buena.

Penitencia me dieron, y en seruicio  
del \*serafica padre, el alma llena  
quedo de gozo por \*esta beneficio;  
y como quien conosco a estos mal-  
uados

en buio fuego auian de estar que-  
mados.

Son ladrones, y tienen de con-  
sejo

nombrados tres ó quatro matadores  
que a qualquiera christiano moço ó  
viejo,

lo matan y lo entierran los traydores.

Ellos tienen su rey, y su consejo,  
y como pueden, \*temen<sup>1</sup> los me-  
nores,

y el Alcoran les leen \*en publica-  
mente,

y muere el que no lo oye tristemente.

Desbautisan los niños bautisa-  
dos,

y a todos los retajan sin que quede  
\*ningunos que no sean retajados

a su Mahoma; no ay quien se lo  
uede.

Labran moneda, y viuen conjurados  
que \*sean de alçar; si es razon que  
quede

tanta maldad sin el deuido pago,  
al mismo cielo juez del caso hago.

*Madera.* Secretario ¿que os paresçe Fol. 13, v. a

del dicho deste buen ombre?

¿quien aura que no asombre

tal maldad? mi furia cresçe

que esto tuuiesse callado.

1670

¿Por vida del rey, que tengo

de hazer,—pues a ello vengo,—

castigo que sea sonado!

Fiscal ¿aueis entendido

y puesto en vuestra memoria

cosa tan clara y notoria?

*Alonso Matias.* Yo estoy muy bien

aduertido.

Panete vendra mannana,

que tambien es buen testigo.

*Tamariz.* Eese a sido gran mi amigo

y dira de buena gana.

*Madera.* Escriuase con quidado

el dicho deste.

*Pina.* Senor,

con quidado y con primor

luego sera despachado.

1685

(Vanse todos y salen CAMARA, MARIA y TAMINE.)

[Camara.] ¿Gran lastima y descon-  
suelo

es el que nos a venido!

¿que esta preso tu marido?

[Maria.] Y el tuyo; ¡gran desconsuelo!

<sup>1</sup> For toman?

*Tamine.* ¿Que aga temblar vn \*pa-  
lillo

que dieron a este pobrette!

¿que con tal rigor sojete

al mas soberuio morillo!

- [*Camara.*<sup>1</sup>] ¿Adonde vamos, \*Marea?  
 1695 *Maria.* A ver aquestos quitados  
 en la carcel engerrados.  
*Tamine.* ¿E poder ertan \*dedea?<sup>2</sup>  
 De quando aca salir fuera,  
 guardas del diablo, ermanas,  
 1700 que aun que venir tan galanas  
 no querer mucho Madera.  
*Camara.* No sera tan ynhumano  
 que a de ser con dos mugeres  
 Fol. 13, v. b riguroso.  
*Tamine.* Ea pos, sino quieres  
 1705 tomar ambas de la mano.  
 (*Sale RONQUILLO y VINCENTE.*)  
*Ronquillo.* \*Dos mugeres tappadas  
 ¿adonde yran a estas oras?  
*Vincente.* ¿No veremos a estas  
 moras?  
 ¿Donde van tan rebocadas?  
 1710 \*¿Destappese! ¿Donde van?  
 ¿Que buscan? ¿Y tu, que quieres?  
*Tamine.* Venir con estas mogerres,  
 que pena da donde yran:  
 por ay querer entrar,  
 1715 ¿pos no comer de la fruta?  
 O he de pota, o he de pota,  
 esta es por madorar.  
 [*Maria.*] Senores, se os \*seruidos,  
 dexa a las dos passar;
- que vamos a visitar* 1720  
*a nuestros pobres maridos.*  
*Vincente.* No son malas estas dos  
 para pretender, Ronquillo,  
 sino . . . .  
*Ronquillo.* ¿Que?  
*Vincente.* ¿E de dezillo?  
 ¿Que no! ¡ojo! ¡viue Dios!  
 1725 Que si el alcalde lo sabe  
 emos de tener desgusto;  
 y no es bien que por vn gusto  
 \*se disguste vn ombre tan graue.  
*Vayanse, daldes al diablo,* 1730  
 que en yr tan \*arrebaldadas  
 gubiertas y mesuradas,  
 son como enfundar retablo.  
*Camara.* Adios, senores, adios.  
*Ronquillo.* \*Vayen en buen ora, er- 1735  
 manas.  
*Tamine.* A he de pota, que ganas  
 tener los dos de las dos. (*Vanse.*)  
*Vincente.* Madera y Panete an ydo  
 a vnas cubas a buscar  
 1740 vnos huesos, y desenterrar  
 muchos cuerpos que an sabido  
 que en el campo an enterrado  
 esta ynfame jente perra.  
 Vamos, que el consejo yerra  
 1745 sino quedare \*assolada.
- [*ESCENA IV*] *Vanse, y salen MADERA, PANETE, CHAUES y JUAN DE PINA, secretario, y vn par de*  
*ombres para canar.*)  
*Madera.* Panete ¿auemos llegado?  
*Panete.* Aqui estan las sepulturas;  
 \*senor, lo que procuras,  
 lo veras presto.  
*Madera.* Con guidado.  
 1750 *Chaues.* Panete ¿estan en las minas,  
 de Pinos ó destas \*brenas?  
*Panete.* Muchos ay entre estas peñas,  
 y alla, los que tu ymaginas  
 caben en \*aqueste parte.  
 1755 Aqui esta vn ombre enterrado  
 de Toledo.
- Madera.* ¿A desdichado!  
 ¿Porque murio?  
*Panete.* No se parte,  
 que solo se quel esta aqui;  
 y esto, senor, es sin duda.  
*Madera.* ¿A tierra, que seas tan 1760  
 muda  
 que aquesto tengas en ti!  
*Ombre 1°.* Aqui esta la calauera  
 con los huesos descarnada.  
*Madera.* Echalde fuera. ¡Ay,  
 quitada!

<sup>1</sup> In the MS, everything as far as Maria's speech: A ver aquestos, etc., is attributed to Tamine. The correct language of the greater part of the passage makes this attribution improbable.

<sup>2</sup> ¿Se puede ir tan de dia?

- 1765 ¿quien biua ô muerta te espera?  
Alguien te estara aguardando,  
y tu en Ornachos asistes.  
Los que viuos a este vistes,  
dezidme ¿no estais temblando?
- 1770 ¿Ay en el mundo testigos  
mas leales y abonados  
que estos huessos descarnados,  
contra aquestos enemigos?  
Aquí esta otro de Seuilla  
que les vino a comprar mill  
\*chibatos, pero ellos le dieron \*ciel.
- 1775 Ombre 2°. Aquesta . . .  
Pina. ¿Ay tal mançilla?
14. r. b Huessos van de aquí sacando  
como si fuera carnero.
- 1780 Panete. Aquí \*esto otro cauallero  
muerto, que andaua caçando;  
aqueste mato Merino  
a traición por ospedallo,  
y por tomalle vn cauallo,  
1785 y lo ençerro en su molino.  
Tambien \*esta coronado  
de Merida natural,  
porque publico su mal.  
Fol. Alonso Matias. Yo conocí a este  
quitado:  
1790 era vn ombre muy valiente,  
1745 ligero y determinado,  
y enemigo declarado  
de \*todas \*este ynfame jente.  
Madera. Panete ¿sabeis de mas  
1795 queestan por aquesta tierra  
\*muerto?  
Panete. Vamos a esta sierra  
senor, y te espantarás.
- Allí estan desparramados  
huessos que no se cree tal;  
no ay carneros de hospital 1800  
que estan como estos poblados;  
ay echadas en las minas  
cabeças, piernas y manos,  
de valerosos christianos  
mas que tu ymaginas. 1805  
Yo todo el estrago e visto  
questa jente ynfame a hecho,  
por solo vengar su pecho,  
y offender a Jesu Christo,  
Y dizen que desta suerte 1810  
el gran patron Santiago  
aze en sus moros estrago,  
y por esso \*las dan muerte.  
Madera. Vamos, lleuad esos hues-  
sos,  
que no an de ser enterrados 1815  
asta que ya \*estan vengados  
de aquestos moros ossiosos. Fol. 14, v. a  
Pina, \*esc. Vamos, ¿y abra mas  
prouança?  
Madera. ¿Que mas prouança querreis  
que esos huessos que teneis 1820  
\*questa pidiendo vengança?  
¿no \*bastan ver estas cossas  
y con loque esta prouado  
para que sea assolado Col. b  
este pueblo?  
Pina. ¡Perniçiosas!  
Ya no lo \*atagar el cielo;  
pienso segun \*sucucitar  
que allí an de \*destruyr  
la mayor parte del suelo.  
(Vanse todos y lleuan los huessos.)
- 1790 (Salen HERNANDO MERINO y ALVARO GONSALES el viejo con prisiones.) Fol. 14, v.,  
col. única
- 1830 Hernando Merino. El tiempo nos a  
puesto en apretura,  
las cossas van muy mal, suegro on-  
rado;  
ya fortuna nos dexa, y la ventura  
nos da de mano, todo va borrado.  
Testigos buscan, y los an traydo  
1835 de muchas partes con muy gran  
cuidado. [tido,  
\*A Ala le ruego que miente mi sen-
- questa muy temeroso y acabado,  
y a la muerte siento en el oyd[o].  
Alvaro Gonsales. Dexaos deste temor  
y esse cuidado;  
¿adonde esta aquel pecho duro y 1840  
fuerte  
que en nuestras cossas siempre  
aueis mostrado?  
Si no es que ya Mahoma echo la  
suerte,—

- que si el, como hazedor, lo dettermina,  
ninguno esta seguro aun que sea fuerte.
- 1845 Sin duda el cielo a nuestro mal se yncлина;  
y si es de \*aqueesse suerte, aquesta mia  
al transito final ya se avezina.  
¡Que nos persigan con tan gran porfia estos ymfames barbaros cristianos!
- 1850 ¡Mal aya el hombre quen vos otros fia!
- Hernando Merino.* Mahoma metera aqui sus manos,  
y nos emos de ver en la noblesça que nos vimos, si pesa a estos villanos.
- Alvaro Gonsales.* No me pienso yo ver en tanta altesa
- 1855 como me \*vio, jamas, aun que saliera  
tan libre como estaua.
- Merino.* Essa es flaqueessa.  
(*Salen ALVARO GONSALES el moço y LUIS CORDOUES a la \*rega.*)
- Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* Cordoues, nuestros males considera,  
que dizen que los muertos an hallado.
- Luis Cordoues.* Mucho temo, cuñado, a este Madera.
- Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* ¿Ques padre y suegro, lo que aueis tratado?
- 1861 ¿no sabeis lo que \*auido en nuestra tierra?
- Los muertos que matamos an hallado,  
los del llano y las minas y la sierra.
- Hernando Merino.* Pues ¿quien lo descubrio que ya no \*son \*muerto?
- 1865 *Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* Panete que quedo para dar guerra a todo el mundo.
- Hernando.* Pues, si \*aqueesse es cierto,
- seremos todos cierto sentençiados no menos que cada vno a \*muerto.  
¡A perro, que entre muchos mal logrados  
no te dieran la muerte, porque agora no supiera este juez nuestros pecados!
- Luis Cordoues.* ¡A mal aya la ymfame y vil mora  
que dio leche a este perro renegado!
- Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* A cunado, y ¡quien lo asiera agora  
ansi como aqui estoy encarçelado!
- 1870 \*que yo le diera al perro la paga de acusar con este yerro.  
(*Sale RONQUILLO, alguazil y jente de guarda.*)
- Ronquillo.* Señores, bajen luego, que \*ayan<sup>1</sup> de ser lleuados a Hornachos.
- Hernando Merino.* Deste juez reniego;  
amigos, ya son ciertos los despachos. Salgamos de Ribera,  
que en Hornachos algun bien se nos espera;  
alli como en mi tierra  
mentendere con estos enemigos.
- 1885 Que traygan dos letrados que sigan nuestros pleytos.
- Ronquillo.* ¡A quitados!  
A bagen ya que es ora.  
\*Lleuan las bestias por \*aqueesse puerta;  
bage \*esse jente mora,
- 1890 pues van donde tendran la muerte cierta.
- Hernando Merino.* ¡A como es agena razon semejante en jente buena!  
Si vamos a la muerte  
¿que podemos hazer? tener paciencia,
- 1895 \*pues es de la mano fuerte. que todo lo puede, es la sentençia. Mirad si sois discretos,  
\*que estan los hombres a mucho mal sujetos.

<sup>1</sup> For oy an(?).

1900 Yo me vide temido,  
y \*commando con poder, y respec-  
tado;  
y agora e conocido  
que quanto el mundo da, lo da  
prestado;  
mas no ay de que me asombre

si nacen los trabajos para el hombre; 1905  
solo suplico y ruego  
que sean las palabras comedidas,  
pues son manchas de fuego  
que dexan las señales esculpidas,  
y en vn onrado, cabra 1910  
y verase muy mal vna palabra.

TERA VI] (Lleuanlos, y salen MADERA, el fiscal, y el secretario JUAN DE PINA.)

15, v. a Madera. \*Ya que por los escritos  
\*y los testigos tan verificados  
\*estan los reos condenados  
1915 a que paguen sus delitos,  
dexense las peticiones;  
no allegue mas el letrado;  
juntese lo proçessado,  
y abreuiasse de razones.

1920 \*En viendo los questan  
en Ribera, pues ya an ydo  
a traerlos, proueydo  
esse auto, y[a] otros seran.

Juntan los siete proçessos,  
1925 que oy an de ser sentenciados  
los que estubieren culpados  
en robos, muertes, y esçessos.

(Sale RONQUILLO, de camino.)

Ronquillo. Ya, señor, traygo la jente  
y estan en la carsel, y todos  
1930 por muchos y varios modos  
dizen ques jente ynocente.

Madera. Para ellos es mejor;  
que si tanta es su ynocencia  
reçiberan esta sentençia,  
y en su descargo el Señor.

1935 Vaya Juan de Pina luego  
y leealles la sentençia;  
\*y con gran deligençia  
sin vn punto de sosiego  
1940 llamad a los oficiales  
que hagan la horca presto.  
No tengais desquido en esto,  
sino andad muy liberales.

Alonso Matias. Esto va bien orden-  
ado.

1945 Mañana seran siete menos  
de los mas ricos y buenos;  
que an de pagar su pecado.  
Virgen, oyd mis clamores

acudid con vuestros medios,  
pues sois Virgen de Remedios, 1950  
y bien de los pecadores.

Allentad, Virgen, mi pecho  
contra aquestos enemigos,  
y a mi que halle testigos  
vtiles y de prouecho. 1955

A vos os an offendido  
pues donde el retrato estaua  
\*vuestro, su gannado se encerraui  
con vn respeto yndiuino. Fol. 16, r. a

(Mientras an hablado \*ay Armado MA-  
DERA las sentencias y el se vaya con el fiscal  
y quede PINA y RONQUILLO.)

Ronquillo. ¡A de la çarcel!

Dentro. ¿Quien llama? 1960

Ronquillo. \*Llegan los pressos aqui,  
oygan por amor de mi  
a la trompa de la fama. (Salen.)

Luis Barço. Aqui estanse, o secre-  
tario;

que nos mande en que servir. 1965

Pina. Que solo quieran oyr  
este edito temerario. Fol. 16, r. b

¡Esta ay Hernando Merino?

Hernando Merino. Aqui esta; diga  
el recado.

Pina. Estais muy apassionado, 1970  
[Hernando Merino.] Que nada sera,  
ymagino.

[Pina.] Oygan si estan todos juntos  
los que aqui traygo nombrados.

Barço. \*Aya estan todos los recados,  
no de \*repere en puntos. 1975

Sec. Pina. En el nombre de Dios,  
amen. El licenciado Gregorio  
Lopes de Madera, alcalde de caza  
y corte, juez nombrado por el rey,  
nuestro senor, para \*auerificacion

de los delitos que los vezinos de la villa de Hornachos an cometidos, etc. Visto los procesos—hallo que deuo condenar y condeno a Hernando Merino y Alvaro Gonsales, el viejo, que sean ahorcados y \*su cabescas puestas en la picota por quanto se les prouoqueras juezes del gouierno secreto y se cartean con los moros de Africa, Valencia y \*Arragon y otros; a Diego de Contreras, a que sea ahorcado y hecho quartos por muchas muertes, y salteamientos; e otrosi condeno que ansi mismo sea \*hahorcado Diego Ortiz, porque trayendo vna muger, tendera de Castilla, la mato en el puerto de la olleria; ansi mismo condeno Alonso Gomez Chausquina por muertes y salteamientos; a Diego de Vendiehaque porque saliendo el y otros al Andalusia, dixeron que no auian de boluer sin matar cristianos, y junto Antequera \*mararon a vno y le saquaron la lengua por detras y la trugeron a Hornachos; a Grauiel Palombo, el viejo, por vno de los matadores del gouierno y ladron publico; que todos sean ahorcados y hechos quartos y puestas sus cabecas y quartos por los caminos, por esta mi sentençia difinitia assi lo pronunçio y mando &

Gregorio Lopez Madera. Por su mandado, Juan de Pina, secretario, assi se lo notifiço.

Col. a

No caygan en ynorancia, y pues que son tan christianos, alto, a confessarse, ermanos, que les sera de ynportancia.

(Vase PINA y RONQUILLO, y quedan los presos.)

1980 *Hernando Merino.* ¿Que ay del mundo que fiar?  
pues siendo \*las mas onrados,  
oy estamos sentençados,

que nos an de ahorçar.

*Alvaro Gonsales, el viejo.* No ay si  
no offeçer lo a Dios,

y pasar por tantos males,  
que para trabajos tales  
nacido auemos los dos;

nuestros pecados an sido.

¿Quien, Merino, tal pensara  
que \*aqueste punto llegara  
el valor que esta perdido?

¡Nos otros dos ahorcados  
sin poder aprouechar,  
tener valor, ni mandar,  
ni offeçer muchos ducados!

*Hernando Merino.* Los bienes y las  
\*riqueßa

oy se quedan a vna parte.  
Veen si quieren confessarte  
con fray Juan.

*Alvaro Gonsales.* ¡Que buena pieça!

Aunque sea por \*complier  
con el mundo quiero hazello;  
ya me determino a ello,  
aun que estoy para morir.

(Ay dentro ruydo y sale LUIS BARCO  
asido del alcaide, y RONQUILLO quitandole  
vn cuchillo, y sin grillos.)

*Barço.* ¿Como? Si yo e de quedar  
biuo, estando sentenciados  
a muerte los mas onrados,  
yo mismo me e de matar.

*Alcaide.* Barço, dexa esse çuidado,  
que el que vio vuestro processo,  
vio que era lo justo esso.

*Barço.* En todo es apassionado.

¡\*Súltadme que e de mataros!  
¡dexadme salir, traydor!

*Alcaide.* Tengale bien, mi senior.

¿Como querais escaparos?

*Ronquillo.* Entre, que a fee tendra  
su recado con dozientos . . . .

*Barço.* ¿Acotes? ¡que son quentos!

*Ronquillo.* Calle, que alla lo vera.

(Metente a repujones, y todos los presos,  
y sale el LICENCIADO MADERA.)

*Madera.* Gracias a Dios que ya e  
visto  
lo que tanto desseaua.

¿Es posible que ya acaua  
\*esse jente, Santo Christo?

Vayan fuera estos maluados,  
queden quien solo os adora;  
y esta ynfame jente mora  
paguen, mi Dios, sus pecados.

(Sale RONQUILLO solo.)

Ronquillo. Pensaua escaparse el  
perro,  
mas no le valio su ardid.

Madera. Pues ¿ques aqueso? De-  
zid.

¿A suscedido algun yerro?

Ronquillo. Barço, vn moro questa  
preso,

viendo questan sentenciados  
a muerte aquellos quitados,  
con furia y terrible esçesso

de la carsel se salia  
con vn cuchillo en la mano,  
diziendo ques vn tirano

de voluntad fiera e ympia  
el que la sentençia dio;  
y que era juez apasionado  
y de \*interesses cargado,  
y esto en el se parescio.

Madera. Pues al punto, luego, Ron-  
quillo,

vn jumento preuenid,  
y a este Barço en el subid,  
y \*lleua al cuello el cuchillo;

denle dozientos acotes  
por aquesse atreuemiento,  
y por el quebrantamiento.

(Sale VINCENTE solo de la carcel.)

¿Que ay?

Vincente. No te alborotes,  
senor, ya se a executado  
la sentençia, y el llanto  
de las moras causa espanto  
de ver su rey ahorcado.

Madera. ¿Ya estan en la horca?

Vincente. Si.

Madera. ¿Como murieron?

Vincente. Cristianos,

y—

Madera. Loque sucedio dezi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The redondilla lacks a line in -anos.

Vincente. Sacamos esta mannana

senor, conforme tu orden  
de la carcel a los siete  
sentenciados por ladrones  
todos vestidos de azul,  
y el pregon en altas boces  
delante, manifestando  
sus delitos tan atroces.

Yua delante Merino  
y vn frayle de los Menores  
que le ayudaua, mas el  
no hazia caso de sermones.

Luego el viejo Aluaro Gonsales  
con otros dos confesores,  
mas contento que si fuera  
\*algun sarao en vn coche,

y viendo que de las cazas  
se oya el llanto y las boces  
de aquellos que por sus muertes

hazian mill exclamaciones,  
con vn animo yncreible

estas palabras propone:

derad el prolijo llanto,  
vezinos de Hornachos nobles,  
que ya el llanto es sin prouecho;  
las armas son las mejores.

Vengad estas canas mias  
que oy por vos otros se ponen  
en vn afrentoso palo,  
con falsas ynformaciones.

Esto \*digo, dando al burro  
gran priessa con los tacones,  
siguio a Merino; y tras el  
Ortiz, Palombo y consortes,  
todos contentos y allegres,  
sin genero de passiones.

No hazian caso de los frayles.

Madera. ¡Valgame Dios!

Vincente. Senor, oye:

al llegar a la placa,  
a todos siete los ponnien  
en la horca, y luego al punto  
tu mandato pregonosse  
que nadie se ose quitar  
de alli aquellos mal hechores  
hasta el otro dia siguiente  
a la ora de las doze.

2060

Fol. 17, r. a

2065

2070

2075

2080

2085

2090

2095

Fol. 17, r. b

3000



- 3005 *Madera.* Pues, agora el presidente  
me a embiado \*nueue orden  
en que manda que \*expulson  
sin genero de esçesçiones  
todos los moros de España.
- 3010 *Ronquillo.* ¡Bien aya quien tal dis-  
pone!  
¡Y estos de Hornachos, señor,  
quederanse entre renglones?
- Madera.* Luego se ha de hechar vn  
vando  
en que grandes y menores,  
3015 so pena de la vida, \*venga  
a se registrar y entonces  
con gente de guarniçion  
los lleuaran.
- Vincente.* Y ¡adonde?
- Madera.* A Seuilla, y entregallos  
3020 al de San German, ques ombre
- que sabra cumplir muy bien  
de su magestad la orden.  
\*Abreuimos, porque tengo  
muy presto de yr a Madrid;  
las mulas me preuenid.
- Ronquillo.* Mulas suficientes tengo  
para partir quando quiera.
- Madera.* En haziendo los despa-  
chos,  
ya esta villa de Hornachos  
llamen desde oy de Madera.
- 3025 Quiero que quede del todo  
limpia del \*dano passado  
y asta el nombre sea quitado;  
no quede por \*nungun modo,  
3030 \*o desta canalla memoria,  
de quien tanto mal se sabe.
- Acabense estos, y acabe  
3035 aqui de Hornachos la historia.

Fin de la COMEDIA DE LOS MORISÇOS DE HORNACHOS, 1649.

## THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH FARCE UPON THE PLAYS OF JOHN HEYWOOD.

### A CRITICISM OF WILHELM SWOBODA.<sup>1</sup>

FOR some time writers have observed that John Heywood's plays, especially *Johan Johan the husbände*, *Tyb his wyfe*, and *syr Jhân the preest and Pardoner and Frere*, occupy a unique place in English dramatic literature. Collier writes that

These productions form an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle plays nor Morals, but entirely different from both; several of them come properly within the definition of "interludes," pieces played in the intervals of entertainments, and having frequently both clever humor and strong character to recommend them. They were, as far as we can now judge, *an entire novelty*, and gained the author an extraordinary reputation.<sup>2</sup>

Ten Brink gives our author great credit by saying: "Heywood did not actually create English comedy, but certainly many of its essential elements."<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Warton, to his amusing statement that Heywood's plays "are destitute of plot, humor, or character," adds the following interesting criticism:

He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow that he is among the earliest of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners.<sup>4</sup>

This last sentence unconsciously shows admirable insight into the exact nature of Heywood's work in the two plays already mentioned; for, free from biblical or didactic purpose, they do repre-

<sup>1</sup> WILHELM SWOBODA, *John Heywood als Dramatiker: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des englischen Dramas* ("Wiener Beiträge zur deutschen und englischen Philologie," No. III; Vienna, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> J. P. COLLIER, *English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (London, 1879), Vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> B. TEN BRINK, *History of English Literature*, translated by L. D. SCHMITZ (London, 1896), Vol. II, Part 2, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> T. WARTON, *History of English Poetry*, ed. W. C. HAZLITT (London, 1874), Vol. IV, p. 81.

sent "familiar life and popular manners" in a realistic, fun-loving, and, as we may hope to show, French-farce manner.

By far the most exhaustive and important study of John Heywood is that of Wilhelm Swoboda. In speaking of the dramatic advance of Heywood's plays upon previous English morality and miracle-plays, this writer says:

Der erste englische Dramatiker, der diesen Weg betrat, und so der Moses, wenn auch nicht der Josua des regulären Dramas wurde, ist John Heywood. . . . Auf diesem Fortschritt die ganze folgende Entwicklung des englischen Lustspieles beruht.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this agreement concerning Heywood's importance in the founding of English comedy, his relations to preceding English and continental literature have received no exhaustive study. A study of Heywood's relations to preceding and contemporary English drama is a most important feature of Swoboda's monograph, since his is the only attempt made as yet to provide a genealogy for the most striking examples of early English comedy. In a special chapter on the relations of Heywood's plays to literary predecessors,<sup>2</sup> Swoboda states his main thesis as follows:

Die komischen Interludes<sup>3</sup> John Heywoods sind legitime Nachkommen der Moralitäten und werden mit Recht als das Bindeglied zwischen diesen allegorisch-didaktischen Spielen und dem regulären englischen Lustspiel angesehen. Es muss daher zwischen den beiden ersteren eine starke Familienähnlichkeit herrschen.<sup>4</sup>

Leaving for the present Swoboda's development of this thesis, I venture to propose an entirely different genealogy for at least three of these plays, basing my thesis especially upon a study of *Johan Johan the husbande*, *Tyb his wyfe*, and *syr Jhān the preest*, *Pardoner and Frere*, and *Dialogue on Wit and Folly*.

<sup>1</sup> SWOBODA, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> SWOBODA, pp. 55-67, "Das Verhältniss des komischen Interludes zu literarischen Vorgängern."

<sup>3</sup> For the reason that "Der blosse name Interlude . . . lässt keinen Schluss auf den dramatischen Charakter derselben zu," SWOBODA (p. 5) distinguishes "zwischen dem komischen und dem moralischen Interlude." For the same reason I shall sometimes refer to HEYWOOD's *Johan Johan the husbande* and *Pardoner and Frere* as farces, hoping to justify my usage by the conclusions of this article.

<sup>4</sup> SWOBODA, p. 55.

I shall try to show that *John*<sup>1</sup> and *Pardoner* are unqualified examples of French farce, that *Wit and Folly* belongs to the *débat* type of French farce, and that each of the three plays has an exact and more or less contemporary analogue extant in French.

Since I am trying to supplant English morality-play by French farce as the parent of several of Heywood's plays, we must at the outset define the alien genre. Without discussing the etymology of the word "farce,"<sup>2</sup> we may notice that the modern technical dramatic meaning of the word was attached to it at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is associated with that body of short comic dramas with which we are especially concerned. For a definition of "farce" as we are to use it we may first consult an early writer on French poetic forms. Thomas Sibilet says:

La Farce retient peu ou rien de la comédie Latine, aussi a vray dire ne serviroient de rien les actes et scenes; et en seroit la prolixité ennuyeuse; car le vray subject de la farce ou sottye françoise sont badineries, nigauderies, et toutes sorties esmouvantes a ris et plaisir.<sup>3</sup>

From this definition we can easily extract a satisfactory conception of farce. In the first place, its sole purpose is to amuse, with no attempt whatever to edify or instruct. This characteristic separates it at once from the morality and from most English interludes, since all moralities and most interludes have allegory and a didactic tendency. We notice also that a farce

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth I shall refer to HEYWOOD's six plays by the following abbreviations: *John* = *Johan Johan the husbände, Tyb his Wyfe, and syr Jhân the preest*; *Pardoner* = *Pardoner and Frere*; *Wit and Folly* = *Dialogue on Wit and Folly*; *Weather* = *Play of the Weather*; *Love* = *Play of Love*; *Four PP* = *Fourc PP*. I have used the following texts:

*John*: A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker* (Strassburg, 1898), Vol. LXXX, pp. 259-80.

*Pardoner*: F. J. CHILD, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848), pp. 89-123.

*Wit and Folly*: F. W. FAIRHOLT, *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. XX.

*Love*: A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. LXXX, pp. 159-200.

*Weather*: *Ibid.*, pp. 211-57.

*Four PP*: J. M. MANLY, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama* (Boston, 1897), Vol. I, pp. 483-522.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *farce* < Lat. *facire*. Fr. *farce* originally meant "a thing that fills or stuffs." In cooking, *farce* meant a hash or minced material used for filling roasted fowls or pie-crusts. In liturgies *farce* was an interpolation or paraphrase, as may be seen from a direction in an old ceremonial, "Le Kyrie Eleison se chantera aux jours de fête avec *farce*." Cf. L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *La comédie et les mœurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> THOMAS SIBILET, *Art poétique* (Paris, 1555), Livre II, chap. viii, p. 60.

must be brief, free from *la prolixité ennuyeuse*; it has no acts and scenes, little complication, and ordinarily treats only one comic incident. The one incident is taken from bourgeois life, and is treated with all possible comic and, generally, indecent realism. Again, we are not to expect in farce the well-known types of Latin comedy. We may define "farce," then, as a dramatic treatment of a single comic incident from bourgeois life, presented realistically, and free from moral or didactic tendency and from Latin imitation.

As a type following the definition worked out above, farce did not exist in England. A few sporadic cases can be cited, but on the basis of these no one has tried to establish a living native farce type in England.<sup>1</sup> The only early English plays that conform to the definition are *Secunda Pastorum*<sup>2</sup> of the Towneley Miracle Plays, Heywood's *John, Pardoner*, and to some extent *Four PP.*<sup>3</sup> *Gammer Gurton's Needle* would perhaps conform to the type but for the pronounced Vice characteristics of Diccon. *Jack Juggler* and *Thersites* are obviously under direct Latin influence. Early English plays are, of course, full of farcical action and farcical situations, but in most cases the farcical element is only fragmentary and is overshadowed by allegory, didacticism, or religious purpose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PROFESSOR C. M. GAYLEY's *Representative English Comedies* (New York, 1903) had not been published when this article was written. PROFESSOR GAYLEY says (*Representative English Comedies*, p. lxi): "I am inclined therefore to look upon the dramatized anecdotes assigned to Heywood as lucky survivals of a form which, since it had long been cultivated both in England and France, may have attained to a degree of excellence before he took it up." Professor Gayley advances no evidence for an independent farce type in England, and leaves the discussion of French relations to Mr. A. W. Pollard (cf. *Representative English Comedies*, pp. 3-17). For HEYWOOD's *Pardoner* and *Frere* and Johan Johan the husbunde Mr. Pollard finds French parallels in the *Farce nouvelle d'un pardonneur, d'un triacleur et d'une taverniere* and the *Farce nouvelle de Pernet qui va au vin*. He mentions two passages parallel between HEYWOOD's Johan Johan and the *Farce nouvelle de Pernet*, points out the general similarity of *Pardoner* and *Frere* and *Farce nouvelle d'un pardonneur*, but withholds conclusions as to Heywood's borrowing. Neither Professor Gayley nor Mr. Pollard mentions the parallel to *Dialogue on Wit and Folly* in the French *Dyologue du fol et du sage*.

<sup>2</sup> An attempt has been made to establish the French *Farce de Patelin* as the source of *Secunda Pastorum*. Cf. K. SCHAUMBURG, *La farce de Patelin et ses imitations*, traduit par L. E. CHEVALDIN (Paris, 1889), pp. 158-76.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the fragment *Interludium de clerico et puella* (T. WRIGHT, *Reliquiae Antiquae* [London, 1845], Vol. I, pp. 145-47) might be included in this list. The extant fragment seems to suggest an interlocutory version of a *fabliau*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Noah's *Flood* of the Chester Miracle Plays, and the action of Ismael and Dalila in *Nice Wanton*.

From the standpoint of previous biblical and moral plays, and of subsequent Latinized plays, Heywood's *John* is impossible to classify.<sup>1</sup> Its realistic and unprejudiced treatment of a bit of bourgeois scandal seems to have no direct developmental relation to preceding and surrounding English drama. To one coming, however, from a study of the body of French farces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *John* causes no surprise, but appears merely as one more example of a well-known type. When we seek a parallel for *John* in this French material, we seem to be directly rewarded in the French farce *De Pernet qui va au vin*.<sup>2</sup> For purposes of clearness, let us outline the action of the two farces under consideration.<sup>3</sup>

*John* runs as follows:

In the absence of his wife, Tyb, John complains aloud of her gadding, suspects that she is with the priest, Sir John, and plans to beat her when she returns. Tyb enters in time to hear his threat and boldly dares him to execute it. In the presence of his wife John is entirely humbled, but as she expatiates upon the goodness of the priest, Sir John, he reiterates in interrupted undertones his suspicion of the priest. Tyb brings with her a pie in the making of which Sir John has collaborated, and suggests that her husband fetch the priest to join them in eating it. Reluctantly the husband sets off on the hated errand. After some hypocritical remonstrance, Sir John consents to come, and as they return together John tries to extract from the priest damaging evidence of his relations with Tyb. When the two men arrive, John notices a suspicious familiarity between his wife and the priest, but Tyb hushes him up and sets him to preparing the dinner. That she may flirt with Sir John, Tyb sends her husband for water, and when he returns in haste and suspicion, he brings an empty pail due to a leak purposely made by Tyb herself. Tyb and Sir John now devise the admirable scheme of setting the henpecked husband to chafing wax at the fire in order to stop the leak. While John

<sup>1</sup> This impossibility, so far as morality-plays are concerned, will appear below when we discuss Swoboda's thesis in detail.

<sup>2</sup> E. VIOLLET LE DUC, *Ancien théâtre français* (Paris, 1854-57), Tome I, pp. 195-211.

<sup>3</sup> Ward (A. W. WARD, *History of English Dramatic Literature* [London, 1899], Vol. I, p. 244, footnote) mentions a resemblance between *Pernet* and *John*. Dr. Lester (J. A. LESTER, *Connections between the Drama of France and Great Britain, Particularly in the Elizabethan Period* [Unpublished Dissertation (H. U., 90, 456), Harvard University, 1900], Vol. I, pp. 13-15) to some extent investigates Ward's suggestion. In addition to quoting two parallel passages, he points out merely that the disturber of domestic peace in *Pernet* is L'Amoureux, and not a priest as in Heywood's play, and that the latter play shows superior motivation. As to dates, manuscripts, technical detail, further verbal parallels, and literary relations, Dr. Lester makes no suggestions.

reluctantly toils at the fire, Sir John and Tyb eat up the pie, flirt, and tell ribald stories. When John's patience is exhausted, a scuffle ensues, and the lovers leave the stage followed by the angry husband.

*Pernet* runs thus:

A Lover meets *Pernet's* wife and makes love to her. She invites him to visit her. *Pernet* enters in time to see the departing Lover, who has the wit to take affectionate leave of the Wife by calling her "Cousine." *Pernet* suspiciously inquires concerning this unknown kinsman, and is finally more or less convinced of Cousin's genuineness. When Cousin calls to see the Wife, *Pernet* pretends to receive him as a kinsman, but strongly suspects his familiarity. Since Cousin suggests wine, the Wife urges *Pernet* to fetch it. After much fuss as to the particular alehouse from which to get it, *Pernet* sets off reluctantly and full of suspicion. Cousin informs *Pernet* of a chicken pie that he may share, if he will only go for the wine. In the husband's absence, Cousin actively demonstrates his affection for the Wife, and the lovers are all but caught by *Pernet* who suspiciously returns for some forgotten trifle. When the wine arrives, the lovers begin their meal. To get *Pernet* out of the way, they set him to chafing wax at the fire, telling him that by so doing he will accomplish a "subtil ouvrage" which will bring him protection and riches.

At this point the play breaks off abruptly. Indeed, the latter part of the play is so bald and abrupt in construction that one easily accepts the suggestion that "le texte est mutilé."<sup>1</sup>

With the two plays before us, we may, in the first place, notice certain differences.

1. The lover in *Pernet* is Cousin, alias Amoureux; in *John* he is Sir John, the priest.

2. In *Pernet* the husband is sent for wine; in *John* he goes for water.

3. In *Pernet* Amoureux is imposed upon the husband as being a kinsman; in *John* Tyb calls the priest merely her "good friend."

<sup>1</sup> L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Repertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 213. The last eight lines of the play suggest such mutilation:

PERNET: "C'est ung très povre pasetemps  
De chauffer la cire quant on digne  
Regardez; elle est plus molle que laine  
En la chauffant rien n'aqueste.

COUSIN: "Conclus et conquete;  
Avec la femme je banqueste  
Combien que je ne sois le sire,  
Et son mary chauffe la cire."

—*Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 211.

The abruptness of transition between these two concluding speeches seems palpably to suggest a loss of part of the text.



4. In *Pernet* the chafing of the wax is motivated only by the absurd idea of "subtil ouvrage;" in the English play the husband chafes wax in order to mend the leaky pail.

5. The English play ends with a scuffle; the French play seems to end with a submission of the husband. The real ending of the French play is probably lost.

It will probably be admitted by all that these differences are not of great consequence. At any rate, they are too slight to effect a difference between the plays in action, in the relations of characters to one another, or in the general types of the characters themselves.

On the other hand, similarities between the plays are striking:

1. Each play is a perfect example of what in France was called *farce*.

2. The plays treat the same well-established type of farce, namely, that in which occur the wife, the lover, and the hen-pecked, cuckolded husband.

3. Both plays are conventional in the husband's suspicious inquiring concerning the third person.

4. The husband in both plays is made to go reluctantly to get beverage for his hated guest.

5. In both plays the lovers eat a pie and give no share of it to the husband.

6. The lovers in the two plays show the same suspicious familiarity.

7. Most striking of all, in both plays the device for diverting the husband's attention is the very unusual one of chafing wax at the fire.

Since, then, the farce spirit, the action, the setting, the characters, the character relations, and the particular devices are so strikingly similar in two plays, we are justified in looking for still more definite relations.

When we approach the text itself, we notice that Heywood's play is more than twice as long as *Pernet*. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the text of the French farce is probably mutilated, and that portions of Heywood's play no longer paralleled in *Pernet* may have existed in the original French version. For

example, it is noteworthy that the French text breaks off abruptly just after the husband has been put to chafing wax, whereas Heywood makes a third of his play from what follows this situation. Since this situation of the lovers dining convivially while the husband ludicrously toils at the fire is quite ideal for farce treatment, we may easily believe that the writer of *Pernet* must have developed the situation along somewhat the lines of the last third of Heywood's play.

Waiving such probabilities for the moment, and comparing the two texts as we have them, we may note the following parallel passages:

*John.**Pernet.*

Ia. "Mary I chafe the waxe here  
And I ymagyn to make you  
good chere  
That a vengauce take you  
both as ye sit  
For I know well I shall not  
ete a byt  
But yet in feyth yf I might  
ete one morsell  
I wolde thynk the matter went  
very well."<sup>1</sup>

"Me faut-il donc chauffer le cire  
Tandisque vous banqueterez  
Corbieu, j'en suis marry:  
Je crois ce pasté est bon."<sup>2</sup>

b. "I chafe the wax  
And I chafe it so hard that  
my fyngers brakkes  
  
And yet I dare not say one word  
And they sit laughyng yender  
at the bord."<sup>3</sup>

IIa. "Cokkes soule what have we here  
As far as I sawe he drewe very  
nere  
Unto my wyfe."<sup>4</sup>

"Que l'ennemy d'enfer l'emporte  
De me femme il est trop pri-  
vé."<sup>5</sup>

b. "Cokkes soule loke howe he ap-  
procheth nere  
Unto my wyfe, this abateth my  
my chere."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *John*, ll. 498-98.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 509 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *John*, ll. 441-43.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 431, 432.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 204.

- IIIa. "Truely Johan Johan we made  
a pye  
I and my gossyp Margery.  
The preest payde for the stuffe  
and the makyng  
And Margery she payde for  
bakying."<sup>1</sup>
- b. "The pye that was made I have  
it nowe here  
And therewith I trust we shall  
make good chere."<sup>2</sup>
- IV. "Set up the table and that by  
and by  
Nowe go thy waye, I go short-  
ly."<sup>4</sup>
- V. "But howe say you Syr John  
Was it good your pie."<sup>6</sup>
- VI. "By the good lorde, this is a  
pyteous warke  
And I am Johan Johan which  
must stande by pe fyre  
Chafyng the wax and dare none  
other wyse do."<sup>8</sup>
- "J'ay faict mettre ung chappon  
en pasté  
Dea cousin, mais n'arrestez  
point.  
C'est assez pour venir au point  
Puisqu'on paye le banqueter.  
Je n'ay plus garde d'arres-  
ter."<sup>3</sup>
- "Faictes bouter la nappe  
Je reviendray tantost du vin."<sup>5</sup>
- "Beuvez-en, il est bon et frais  
Est-il bon, cousin."<sup>7</sup>
- "C'est ung tres povre passe-  
temps  
De chauffer (la) cire quant on  
digne."<sup>9</sup>

As mere verbal parallels by themselves, these passages seem to me of slight importance. Several passages plainly show identity of particulars in the two plays, but it is needless to say that such parallels alone could not prove interdependence. Supported by the striking similarities of incident already noticed, these parallels do seem to contribute a small amount of evidence.

As to the date of *Pernet* we know only the statement of the colophon, "Imprimé nouvellement, 1548."<sup>10</sup> Of earlier editions

<sup>1</sup> *John*, II. 157-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 185, 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *John*, II. 262, 263.

<sup>5</sup> *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> *John*, I. 593.

<sup>7</sup> *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> *John*, II. 595, 606-8.

<sup>9</sup> *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 211.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

we know nothing. This date, however, raises no difficulty in the way of direct borrowing by the English play from the French, for there is nothing to disprove an edition of *Pernet* earlier than 1520-30,<sup>1</sup> and the word *nouvellement* of the colophon, and the fact that most French farces were written in the fifteenth century, seem to point to such an early edition.

From the following considerations: (1) similarity in type, incident, characterization, and details of device and action; (2) verbal parallels, suggesting that certain English passages are reminiscences of the French; (3) the probable dates of the two plays; (4) the abundant opportunities for transference to England of French dramatic ideas;<sup>2</sup> (5) the isolation of the two or three farces known in English; (6) the absence of any positive objection to Heywood's borrowing from French—from these considerations I conclude that Heywood knew the French farce *Pernet* in some form, and borrowed from it at least the plot, type, characters, and main incidents of *John*. That Heywood treated his model (in the form in which we know it) with freedom and improved upon it in motivation, delicacy of characterization, and niceness of sequence, does not at all invalidate the original obligation.

In connection with Heywood's *Pardoner* we are especially struck at the outset by his generous verbal borrowings from Chaucer. An exhaustive enumeration of passages has been made elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> and for our present purpose one illustrative passage will suffice:

<sup>1</sup> The probable date of *John*; cf. SWOBODA, pp. 28-34.

<sup>2</sup> I refer to such circumstances as:

a) Political negotiations.

b) Diplomatic entertainments. Cf. J. PARDOE, *Court and Reign of Francis I.*, 2 vols. (London, 1849), Vol. I, pp. 290-94; R. HOLINSHED, *Chronicle*, 6 vols. (London, 1808), Vol. III, pp. 634 ff.; P. PARIS, *Études sur François I<sup>er</sup>*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1885), Vol. I, p. 51; MICHAUD ET POUJOLAT, *Mémoires à l'histoire de France, Première Série* (Paris, 1838), Vol. V, pp. 69-71; E. HALL, *Chronicle* (London, 1809), pp. 723, 724; G. CAVENDISH, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1877), p. 201.

c) French players in England in the period 1485-1530. Cf. J. P. COLLIER, *English Dramatic Poetry* (London, 1879), Vol. I, pp. 48 ff.; B. TEN BRINK, *History of English Literature* (London, 1896), Vol. II, Part 2, p. 123.

d) Literary visits. Cf. *Revue contemporaine*, Première Série, Vol. XXI, pp. 42 ff.; A. MAURY, *Journal des savants*, September, 1887, p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> W. SWOBODA, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III, pp. 63 ff.

CHAUCER: *Pardoner's Prologue.*

"First I pronounce whennes that  
   I come  
 And than my bulles shewe I, alle  
   and somme  
 Our lige lordes seel on my  
   patente  
 That shewe I first, my body to  
   warente  
 That no man be so bold, ne  
   preest ne clerk  
 Me to destourbe of Cristes  
   holy werk."<sup>1</sup>

*Pardoner.*

"But first ye shall know well, yt I  
   com fro Rome  
 To here my bulles, all and some  
 Our lyege lorde seale here on my  
   patent  
 I bere with me, my body to  
   warant;  
 That no man be so bolde, be he,  
   preest or clarke,  
 Me to dysturbe of Chrystes  
   holy werke."<sup>2</sup>

This parallel and those given by Swoboda are, of course, quite conclusive as to Heywood's direct indebtedness to Chaucer for the *Pardoner's* introductory speech in the play. It is noteworthy, however, that the dialogue and construction of the play itself could not come from Chaucer. Noteworthy also is the fact that this play conforms entirely to our definition of "farce" as treating realistically and without moral or didactic purpose a single comic incident from bourgeois life. The spirit of the play is entirely that of French farce, and the character types are thoroughly common in the French genre. Again we are justified, then, in searching in the rich collection of French farces for possible parallel's to Heywood's *Pardoner*.

Our search is rewarded in the farce *D'un pardonneur, d'un triacleur, et d'une taverniere*.<sup>3</sup>

The action of the French farce may be outlined as follows:

The Pardonneur, laden with relics, begins his bombastic appeals in a public place. The Triacleur (traveling apothecary) enters with his simples and starts an opposition of talking and selling. The two fakirs carry on their talk in alternate short speeches, mixing into the advertisement of their wares curses and ridicule for each other. At the end they decide to become temporarily reconciled in order to visit the tavern together. They leave a precious relic as payment to the barnaid.

The action of Heywood's *Pardoner and Friar* runs somewhat parallel, as follows:

<sup>1</sup> W. W. SKEAT, *Student's Chaucer* (London, 1900), p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> F. J. CHILD, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848), p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> E. VIOLETT LE DUC, *Ancien théâtre Français* (Paris, 1854-57), Tome II, pp. 50 ff.

The Friar, in or before the church, begins a pious speech to the congregation. While he is praying, the Pardoner enters to declare himself and his relics. The two then try to carry on sermons simultaneously, the result being much interruption and cursing of each other. At the end they fall to blows, and are separated by the curate and neighbor Pratt.

Direct and literal borrowing on Heywood's part from the French farce is entirely out of the question, since both the characters and action in the two plays are far different. Verbal parallels are utterly lacking.

Although Heywood is not indebted to this particular play for his *dramatic material*, we are still allowed to contend that this French farce, or a similar farce now lost, provided the *type* for *Pardoner*. That the plays are identical in type cannot be denied. Each is a pure farce, treating the meeting and ludicrous opposition of two well-known characters of late mediæval satire. Each play is absolutely free from any purpose or material foreign to the farce genre. No play similar to *Pardoner* exists in England, either in text or by title. The Pardoner's passage at the beginning of the play and the general conceptions of the Pardoner and the Friar, all from Chaucer, do not account for the whole play. Swoboda seems to have the same notion in saying: "Die Charaktere des Friars und der beiden Pardoner sind zwar Chaucer entlehnt, aber die Idee, die zwei in den *Canterbury Tales* getrennten Personen dramatisch zusammengebracht zu haben, ist Heywoods."<sup>1</sup>

In estimating how far this idea "ist Heywoods," one must bear in mind two considerations. In the first place, those who have discussed the relations of this play to Chaucer<sup>2</sup> seem to me to overlook the dramatic action in Chaucer's own text. The Friar and Sompnour in the *Canterbury Tales* have exactly the attitude toward each other that we find between the Friar and Pardoner in Heywood's play. Moreover, not only does each tell a tale aimed against the other, but each interrupts the other in an entirely dramatic manner.<sup>3</sup> Therefore already in Chaucer we

<sup>1</sup> W. SWOBODA, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> W. SWOBODA, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III; A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. LXXX; F. J. CHILD, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the opening part of the *Friar's Tale* and of the *Sompnour's Tale*, and the Prologue of each.

have two characters "dramatisch zusammengebracht." The substitution on Heywood's part of the Pardoner for the Sompnour is perhaps easily explained by the fact that the former with his relics provides better "stage business" and more farcical fun, and by the fact that he must have been a character much better known in actual life and literature. In the second place, Heywood must have known French farce as a genre, and not improbably the particular French farce before us.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, since already in Chaucer were prepared, not only the dramatic material, but also a few suggestions for action, and since a French farce existed providing not only action following precisely the general lines of the English play, but also the precise type, therefore Heywood's originality in this play is slight.

I conclude that Heywood took much of his dramatic material from Chaucer, and probably found his dramatic model in the French *Farce d'un pardonneur*, or in a similar farce now lost.

Concerning Heywood's *Dialogue on Wit and Folly* Collier says that the author

may also, perhaps, deserve credit as the inventor of this species of dramatic entertainment—though dramatic chiefly in the circumstances that it was conducted in dialogue, and it was merely a discussion in verse between two or more characters on some particular topic or opinion.<sup>2</sup> In how far Heywood may be called an "inventor of this species" will appear more clearly as we proceed.

As to the sources of Heywood's *Dialogue*, no suggestion has been made except by Brandl, who notices that the general theme of *Wit and Folly* is that of Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*, namely, "Better be a fool than wise."<sup>3</sup> That Heywood knew Erasmus's work is certain, for it is said to have been written in the house of Thomas More<sup>4</sup> and is dedicated to him, and More was almost surely the patron of John Heywood.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 11 above, footnote 3, and cf. p. 23 below.

<sup>2</sup> COLLIER, Vol. II, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> A. BRANDL, *loc. cit.*, p. xlix: "Er (Heywood) verhielt sich ungefähr wie Erasmus, dessen 'Adagia' (1500) ihn wohl zu den Proverbs anregten und dessen 'Encomium Moriae' (1500) deutlich anklingt wenn Heywood in seinem 'Dialogue' die These erörtert, der Narr sei besser daran als der Geschiedte." Brandl does not pursue his suggestion farther.

<sup>4</sup> T. E. BRIDGETT, *Life of Sir Thomas More* (London, 1891), p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> BRANDL, *loc. cit.*



Before making concrete comparisons between Heywood's *Wit and Folly* and Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*, let us examine the general outline of the former.

James insists to John that it is better to be foolish than wise, since, while the fool is provided for, the wise man must toil for his living. But, says John, a fool is bullied about and "lugged by the eares" and is subject to painful emotions from trivial causes. Yes, says James, but consider the pain suffered by the wise man who earns his living and must endure also the mental agony of thought and study. From mental and bodily pain the fool is free. But, says John, as the wise man's pain is greater, so also is his pleasure greater. No, says James, since a fool is certain of the greatest of all pleasures, namely salvation, whereas the wise man may gain this pleasure only by painful and correct living. Having convinced John of the superiority of foolishness, James leaves his part in the discussion to Jerome, who reinstates wisdom by showing that, since a wise man is better than a beast, and since a fool is a beast, therefore a wise man is better than a fool.

When we turn to *Encomium Moriae*, we find many of the ideas used by Heywood in *Wit and Folly*.

Concerning the pleasure of foolishness we find in Erasmus such pertinent passages as the following:

Principio quis nescit primam hominis aetatem multo laetissimam, multoque omnibus gratissimam esse?<sup>1</sup> . . . An vero aliud est puerum esse quam delirare, quam desipere? An non hoc vel maxime in ea delectat aetate, quod nihil sapit?<sup>2</sup>

Sed dicant mihi per Jovem, quae tandem vitae pars est, non tristis, non infestiva, non invenusta, non insipida, non molesta, nisi voluptatem, id est, stultitiae condimentum adjunxeris? Cujus rei cum satis idoneus testis esse possit, ille nunquam satis laudatus Sophocles, cujus extat pulcherrimum illud de nobis elogium, ἐν τῇ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος βίος.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the mental pain Heywood writes:

And further, meane labor in most comon wyse,  
Ys most parte hansom, and holsome excercyse,  
That purgythe hewmors to mans lyfe and quyckness,  
Whyche study bredythe to mans dethe or sycknes,  
Also, most kynds of labor most comenly  
Strene most grose owtewarde parts of the body;  
Wher study, sparyng sholders, fyngers, and tose,  
To the hedd and hart dyrectly study gose.

<sup>1</sup> DES. ERASMI, *Stultitiae Laus*, ed. GUIL. GOTTL. BECKERI (Basileae, 1780), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

Pervert ys your jugment yf ye judge not playne,  
 That less ys the parell, and les ys the payne  
 The knockyng of knockylls whyche fyngers dothe strayne,  
 Then dyggyng yn the hart, or drying of the brayne.<sup>1</sup>

On the same topic Erasmus has the following:

An non videtis tetricos istos et vel philosophiae studiis, vel seriis et arduis addictos negotiis plerumque priusquam plane juvenes sint, jam consenuisse, videlicet curis, et assidua acrique cogitationum agitatione sensim spiritus et succum illum vitalem exauriente? Cum contra Moriones mei pingui culi sint, et nitidi, et bene curata cute.<sup>2</sup>

As to the treatment a fool receives, John says:

Who cometh by the sott who cometh he by  
 That vexythe hymn not some way usewally  
 Some beat hym, some bob hym  
 Some joll him, some job hym,  
 Some tugg hym by the hers,  
 Some lugg hym by the eares, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Erasmus apparently implies the same sort of treatment, when he says:

Si saxum in caput incidat, id vere malum fit. Caeterum pudor, infamia, probrum maledicta, tantum adferunt noxae, quantum sentiuntur. Si sensus absit, ne mala quidem sunt. Quid laedit, si totus populus in te sibilet, modo tute tibi plaudas.<sup>4</sup>

As to disquietude of mind James says:

Tak yt how ye lyst, ye can mak yt no les,  
 But wytty have suche payne as my words wyttnes  
 For thowgh wytt for tyme sometyne may payne prevent  
 Yet yn most tymes theyr foreseyd payne ys present  
 Whyche payne in the wytty wyttyly weyde,  
 May match payne of the wyttles by ye fyrst leyde;  
 And to the second point for dystemporatt joyes,  
 By havynge or hopynge of fancies or toyes,  
 In wyttles or wytty bothe tak I as one,  
 Ffor thowgh the thyngs that wytty have or hope on,  
 Are yn some kynd of acownt; thyngs muche gretter  
 Then thyngs of the sotts joyings, yet no whyt better,  
 Nor les payne bryngth that passhyon, but endyferent  
 To bothe, except wytty have the woors turment.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. W. FAIRHOLT, *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. XX, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 40, 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Stultitiae Laus*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> FAIRHOLT, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> FAIRHOLT, p. 6.

On this same point we find in Erasmus:

Est ne quicquam felicius isto hominum genere, quos vulgo moriones, stultos, fatuos ac bliteos appellant, pulcherrimis, ut equidem opinor, cognominibus? . . . Principio vacant mortis metu, non mediocri, per Jovem, malo. Vacant conscientiae carnificina non teritantur manium fabulamentis. Non expavescunt spectris ac lemuribus, non torquentur metu impendentium malorum, non spe futurorum bonorum distenduntur.<sup>1</sup>

James's chief argument for the fool's superiority is his certainty of salvation:

But for a meane betwene bothe, my self strayght schall  
Alege not plesewrs all I sey, but such one  
As over weythe the other plesewrs every chone:  
Whych plesewre wher yt in fyne dothe not remayne,  
All plesewrs in all parts ar plesewrs but vayne  
Of whyche one plesewre the wyttles are sewre evyr  
And of that plesewre, wytty are sewr nevyr!

JOHN: What plesewr ys that?

JAMES: Plesewr of salvashyon! . . . . .

And the state of sotts have none acownt so carnall  
That God ympewtethe any yll to them I say.<sup>2</sup>

On this point Erasmus says:

Denique si propius etiam ad brutorum animantium insipientiam, accesserint, ne peccant quidem autoribus theologis. Hic mihi jam expendas velim, stultissime sapiens, quot undique solitudinibus noctes diesque scrutietur animus tuus, congeras in unum acervum universa vitae tuae incommoda, atque ita demum intelliges, quantis malis meos fatuos subdixerim. Adde huc, quod non solum ipsi perpetuo gaudent, ludunt, cantillant, rident, verumetiam caeteris omnibus quocunque sese verterint, voluptatem, jocum, lusum, risumque adferunt, velut in hoc ipsum a Deorum indulgentia dati, ut humanae vitae tristitiam exhilararent . . . impune permittant quicquid vel dixerint, vel fecerint . . . sunt enim vere sacri Diis.<sup>3</sup>

From these particular instances we see that a number of Heywood's ideas are already stated in *Encomium Moriae*.

Through surprising oversight in connection with Heywood's *Wit and Folly*, no one has mentioned a striking French parallel in the somewhat obscure *Dyialogue du fol et du sage*.<sup>4</sup> The ideas in the French dialogue are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 126, 127. <sup>2</sup> FAIRHOLT, pp. 13, 14, 16. <sup>3</sup> *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in *Les Joyeusetes Facecies et Folastres Imaginacions*, "Techener Libraire," Vol. XIV, No. 3 (Paris, 1833).

The wise man, regretting his former days of folly, determines to seek the pleasure, peace, wealth, and honor that belong to wisdom. The fool objects that with wisdom come only care and unrest. Wisdom brings wealth to be sure, but also the fear of losing it. The fool need not fear losing what he does not possess. The fool may be mocked and maltreated, but such discomfiture is slight compared to the constant burdens of the wise man. In fact, since the fool can do nothing to disgrace himself, he of the two will always have the better reputation. With neither worry nor effort the fool inevitably attains the ease, peace, and honor of old age. Most important of all, the wise man by getting much money and setting his heart upon it is in danger of damnation, a danger from which the fool is entirely free.

Placing the two dialogues side by side, we notice that the main ideas in Heywood's *Wit and Folly* are these: (1) the wise man must toil while the fool need not; (2) the fool is mocked and maltreated; (3) the wise man suffers agonies of mind; (4) the wise man is in danger of damnation, while the fool is sure of salvation.

That each of these points is treated also in the French *Dyalogue* will appear from the following passages:

1. As to the wise man's toil and the fool's exemption we read:

SAGE: "Tu nauras escus ne ducatz  
Et pourtant rends toy a sagesse."

FOL: "Oste le moy ie nen nay cure  
Ce nest que tourment et trauail  
Tantost a pied; puis a cheval  
Ceste sagesse ne vaut rien."<sup>1</sup>

FOL: "Iamais ie veis mourir de fain  
Homme qui fut enuers Dieu mixte  
He navons nous pas le psalmiste  
Qui dist non vidit justum  
Semen eius derelictum."<sup>2</sup>

2. As to the mocking and maltreatment of the fool we read:

SAGE: "Si tu ioues ce sera bien ioue  
Tu en seras un peu loue  
De quelque homme ou de quelque femme  
Mais si tu faulx tu es infame  
Chascun de toy se mocquera."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

## 3. As to the wise man's pain of mind we read:

SAGE: "Jauray mon plaisir corporel  
Repos, soulas, et tout deduyt."

FOL: "Tu n'euz oneques un jour pareil  
Depuis que mere te produyt.

Un riche a tousiours doubte et tremble  
De paour que on luy emble le sien  
Mais un pauvre homme qui na rien.  
Iamais il ne craint le deschet  
Car qui na rien rien ne luy chet."<sup>1</sup>

## 4. As to the matter of salvation we read:

FOL: "Car si dargent tu faictz ton maistre  
Je te tiens pour homme damne."<sup>2</sup>

FOL: "Si subjectir et asservir  
Que on en laissast de dieu servir  
Ceulx la sont folz et non pas sages  
Deulx est escript en maintz passage  
Quilz sen vont a damnation."<sup>3</sup>

At this point it should be mentioned that the latter part of Heywood's *Wit and Folly*, in which wisdom is reinstated by Jerome, could be due to neither *Encomium Moriae* nor the French *Dyialogue*. This original addition of Heywood's illustrates the freedom with which he probably handled all his sources, and may perhaps be accounted for by his grasping an opportunity to display his dialectical cleverness, or, better still, by his desire to pay a compliment to Henry VIII. Near the end of the play occurs the stage remark, "Thes thre stav next following in the Kyngs absens ar voyde,"<sup>4</sup> after which follow four stanzas to the king. Such a compliment (and incidental begging<sup>5</sup>) would be much less artistically added if folly were to triumph. The very triumph of wisdom is turned into a compliment to Henry VIII.

From the foregoing parallel passages we conclude that either *Encomium Moriae* or the French *Dyialogue* might have furnished Heywood with his main ideas. No actual verbal parallels are

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> FAIRHOLT, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 28, "I hartly wyshe for encrease of rewarde."

noticeable between Heywood's play and either the French or the Latin work. Since either *Encomium Moriae* or the French *Dyialogue* is capable of supplying Heywood with his main ideas, what are the external chances for his use of each? That he must have known *Encomium Moriae* we have already established.<sup>1</sup> The editors of the French play remark:

Ce petit dialogue fut probablement représenté sous la règne de Louis XII, et peutêtre en présence de sa cour, comme les vers suivants semblent le faire entendre:

Si iestois sage et toy aussi  
Et nous ne serions pas icy  
Pour faire tous les seigneurs rire.<sup>2</sup>

If, then, this *Dyialogue* was a court production for Louis XII, the avenue between Heywood and the play is almost direct. In 1514 Henry VIII and his sister, Mary, visited the court of Louis XII, and soon after Mary and Louis XII were married. As to the dramatic entertainments offered during this visit no documents are available, but at least here is a perfect connection between the court where the French *Dyialogue* is said to have been produced and the court where Heywood was doing his dramatic work. That the train returning with Henry VIII and Mary should have brought to England dramatic ideas from the French court is entirely probable. Most important of all is the fact that whereas *Encomium Moriae* provides the ideas, but no suggestion for a dialogue form, this French *Dyialogue* offers not only the ideas, but also a precisely similar dialogue form.

With these facts before us we may safely conclude:

1. That Heywood certainly knew *Encomium Moriae*, and may have taken from it some general ideas.
2. That an exact analogue to Heywood's play existed in France in the period 1498-1515.
3. That the external circumstances provide an avenue between Heywood and this French play.
4. That, considering its form and material, the French *Dyialogue* is the most satisfactory source for Heywood's *Wit and Folly*.

Bearing in mind the possible French relations of at least three of Heywood's plays, let us return to a detailed criticism of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 13 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Joyeusetez*, etc., p. v.

Swoboda's thesis regarding the genealogy of Heywood's plays as a whole. After stating his main thesis and purpose of explaining Heywood's plays as "legitime Nachkommen der Moralitäten,"<sup>1</sup> the writer supports his theory by a detailed examination of a number of aspects of these plays. I propose to give Swoboda's own statement of each separate point, with such criticism of each as may be suggested by my previous examination of Heywood's relations to French material.

1. "Die Personen der Moralitäten waren allegorische Figuren gewesen, die abstracte Eigenschaften, Laster, Tugenden, Gemuthszustände u. A. vorstellten. Betrachten wir zunächst das *Play of Love*. Es handelt von dem Einfluss der allmächtigen Leidenschaft der Liebe auf das menschliche Gemüth und zeigt die Leiden und Freuden, die sie dem Menschen bringt. Das geschieht im modernen Lustspiel auch, aber es zeigt den allgemeinen Gedanken an einem concreten Falle. Das *Play of Love* lässt aber den allgemeinen Satz durch Personen vorführen, die als solche nicht menschliche Wesen von Fleisch und Blut sind, die die Sympathie oder Antipathie des Zuhörers herausfordern. Der geliebte Liebhaber ist nicht dieser oder jener, sondern der Liebhaber in abstracto . . . . Aehnliches gilt von dem *Play of Weather*. . . . Den Personen an sich kommt kein charakteristisches Merkmal zu. Sie sind also auch bloß abstract."<sup>2</sup>

This abstractness of characterization can be found in only *two* of Heywood's *six* plays. Moreover, since these two plays, *Love* and *Weather*, are in type genuine *débats*, their abstractness of characterization should probably be traced to the mediæval *débat*, from which they directly descended, rather than to English morality-plays.

2. Noch entschiedener als in diesem Punkte macht sich der Einfluss der Moralitäten mit Bezug auf ihre didaktische Tendenz geltend.

Dies ist der Fall im *Wetterspiel*, im *Liebesspiel*, den *Four P's* und *Wit and Folly*. Aber nicht mehr in gleichem Masse ist die lehrhafte Absicht mit der Structur der Stücke verwachsen. Das Interlude von den *Vier P* oder das *Liebesspiel* könnte auch ohne die Schlussmoral bestehen, nicht so jedoch ein *Moral play*. Das Spiel vom Wetter trägt den Stempel des Lehrhaften am deutlichsten. . . . Was ist die Ursache dieses zähen Festhaltens an einem ganz undramatischen Princip? Warum hat sich John Heywood nicht auch in diesen Stücken von dieser Fessel losgemacht, wie in dem *Ablaskrämer und Mönch* und dem *Hahnrei*—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> SWOBODA, p. 56.



*spiel*?<sup>1</sup> Theils hatte der Dichter selbst eine starke Neigung zum Lehrhaften, theils stand er unter dem Drucke der Gewohnheit, so dass diese moralisirenden Schlüsse als eine Concession an den Zeitgeschmack betrachtet werden müssen.<sup>2</sup>

In view of our previous study of French relations, may we not answer Swoboda's own question less feebly? In *John and Pardoner* Heywood is "von dieser Fessel losgemacht," because in these two plays he is dealing with the French farce type, a type which deals with pure comic bourgeois realism and to which "didaktische Tendenz" and "Neigung zum Lehrhaften" are utterly foreign. This confessed weakness of Swoboda's theory is apparently entirely met by our opposing theory of French farce influence.

3. Das Hauptmotiv aller *Interludes* von John Heywood ist Zank und Streit. . . . Das Thema des Streites ist meist ein abstracter Satz. In *Wit and Folly* handelt es sich darum, "ob es besser sei, ein Narr oder ein Weiser zu sein," im *Loveplay* "ob es besser sei zu lieben und geliebt zu werden, oder nicht," im *Weatherplay* wird nachgewiesen, dass "der Menschen Wünsche unvereinbar seien." In *Pardoner and Friar* und *The Four P's* handelt es sich schon um etwas mehr Greifbares, nämlich den Werth verschiedener Seelenrettungsmethoden. Auch ist in beiden der Streit durch den Brotneid motivirt. Das concreteste Streitobject ist aber die Pastete im Hahnreispiel. Je concreter das Streitobject, desto grösser wird das Interesse des Zuhörers sein. Der Streit um die abstracten Sätze der drei erstgenannten Stücke wird uns weniger interessiren als der in den zwei folgenden. Das beste Stück in dieser Beziehung ist daher das Hahnreispiel.

\* \* \* \* \*

Das Streitmotiv, sowie die ganze Art seiner dramatischen Entwicklung ist eine Erbschaft der Moralitäten. Aber auch die Moralitäten standen in dieser Beziehung unter französischem Einfluss. . . . Das Streitmotiv der Moralitäten und seine ganze juristisch-casuistische Durchführung ist gelehrten Ursprungs. Schon im 13. Jahrhundert waren in Frankreich neben den Mysterien und Mirakeln Spiele rein profaner Natur gespielt worden, die ihren Streitcharakter schon durch den Namen *Jus*, *Jeu* andeuten. Auch aus der Lyrik und Didaktik der Trouvères gingen dramatische Compositionen rein weltlicher Art hervor. Diese *Disputations* und *Débats* zeigen auch schon im Namen ihren Charakter. Die "Farcen der *Bazochiens* sind auch oft nichts weiter als ein witziger Wettstreit über irgend ein gegebenes Thema, in welchem

<sup>1</sup> Meaning *Pardoner* and *John*.

<sup>2</sup> SWOBODA, pp. 56, 57.

sich Witz und Humor mit juristischer Casuistik vereinte. Das Spiel *Pierre de la Broche qui dispute a Fortune par devant Reson* weist auf die *Disputations* der *Trouvères* zurück und auf die späteren *Querelles* wie *Moralités* fort.<sup>1</sup> Die Moralitäten aber beeinflussten ihrerseits das komische Interlude Heywoods. Das *Interlude Wit and Folly* zeigt den juristisch-casuistischen Charakter am einfachsten, reinsten und deutlichsten: es ist auch nichts Anderes als ein witziger Wettstreit über ein gegebenes Thema, in welchem sich Witz und Humor mit juristischer Casuistik vereinen.<sup>2</sup>

In clearing up this point, we must first contest the opening statement that "Das hauptmotiv aller *Interludes* von John Heywood ist zank und streit." Beyond doubt *Wit and Folly*, *Love*, and *Weather* are perfect examples of *streit*-plays. The action and interest of these plays lie entirely in the proposal and discussion of a debatable question. *Four PP* and especially *Pardoner* are not strictly *streit*-plays. Each opens with an amusing situation out of which arises an amusing discussion, and the comedy of the characters and their ludicrous situations are our main interest rather than the discussion of an abstract question. In saying, "Das concreteste streitobject is aber die pastete im hahnreispiel," Swoboda surely falls into triviality. If *John* were to have a *streitmotiv* at all, it must surely be the cuckolding of *John*, not the mere incidental stage business of the pie. As a matter of fact, *John* has not the slightest vestige of *streitmotiv*, but is a little drama of bourgeois scandal in which occur cuckolding, henpecking, and, if someone insists, a pie! In other words, *John* is a perfect example of French farce, and need not be considered further under this part of Swoboda's argument.

After attributing to all Heywood's plays this characteristic of *streitmotiv*, Swoboda clumsily derives this *streitmotiv*, so far as Heywood is concerned, exclusively from morality-plays, explaining that the moralities had it as an inheritance from the lyric and didactic poetry of the *Trouvères*, from mediæval *disputations* and *débats*, and from such French farces as were "ein witziger wettstreit über irgend ein gegebenes thema." Even if we were to grant that English morality-plays derive their *débat* character-

<sup>1</sup> EBERT's *Jahrbuch*, Vol. I, "Besprechung der *Études historiques sur les Clercs de la Bazoche*," pp. 235-40.

<sup>2</sup> SWOBODA, pp. 57-59.

istics in just this way, why need we take the next step and say that Heywood got his *débat* ideas from English morality-plays rather than from the original sources themselves? If *Love and Weather* are pure *débats* acted out in dramatic form, is it not reasonable to assume that they were inspired by contemporary and antecedent *débats* rather than merely by morality-plays? Since *Wit and Folly* is a perfect example of one type of French farce, and since a contemporary parallel is extant, the English play and the French play are probably related directly rather than through the medium of morality-plays.

Against Swoboda, then, I insist, in the first place, that "zank und streit" are not characteristics of Heywood plays as a whole; in the second place, that where "zank und streit" do occur they are not "eine erbschaft der moralitäten," but are directly related to the same elements in contemporary and antecedent *débats*, *disputaisons*, *jeus*, and *farces*.

4. Die Folge des starken Hervortretens von Streit, Zank und Disput ist, dass die Handlung der Moralitäten so gut wie die des komischen *Interludes* vom rhetorischen Wust überwuchert ist. *Wit and Folly* ist ganz rhetorisch und hat keinen andern Anspruch dramatisch zu heissen, als dass es die Form des Dialogs hat. Es ist ein "Gesprächsspiel." In beschränkterem Masse gilt dies auch von anderen *Interludes*. Das *Love-play*, das *Weatherplay*, *The Four P's* und auch *The Pardoner and Friar* bestehen zum grösseren Theile aus Reden. Die genaue, oft spitzfindige Abhandlung einer gegebenen Frage oder Behauptung, ihre Exemplification, die sichtliche Freude an dem Abwägen von Gründen und Gegengründen ist für die Moralitäten wie für das komische Interlude charakteristisch.<sup>1</sup>

*Wit and Folly*, *Love*, and *Weather* are obviously overladen with rhetorical and logical trash. Although *Four PP* and *Pardoner* are made up largely of *talk*, these plays are not overladen "vom rhetorischen wust." The difference between the comic conversation of the latter plays and the dry hairsplitting of the former is in itself almost sufficient to distinguish two separate genres. Most striking of all is the fact that this characteristic does not in the least apply to *John*. This play, being free from "zank und streit," is also free from talk or rhetorical trash,

<sup>1</sup> SWOBODA, p. 59.

Here again Swoboda is apparently unaware that he is dealing with two genres. *John*, *Four PP*, and *Pardoner* take their comic dialogue from the farce tradition. *Love*, *Weather*, and *Wit and Folly* derive the dryness of their hairsplitting discussions from the *débat*.

5. Auch das erzählende Element nimmt, wie schon in den Mysterien und den Moralitäten, so auch in dem komischen Interlude einen verhältnismässig zu grossen Raum ein. So ist *The Four P's* durch die langen Geschichten des Apothekers und des Ablasskrämers—vom dramatischen Standpunkt genommen—entstellt. Selbst das beste Stück Heywoods, die Hahnreicomödie, ist von dieser Unzukömmlichkeit nicht frei. Der Dichter hat es nicht über sich bringen können, uns die drei Wundercurgeschichten des Priesters zu ersparen. . . . Daraus sieht man, dass Heywoods Stärke in der Composition epischer Poesie, d. h. der versificirten komischen Erzählung lag.<sup>1</sup>

*Four PP* is certainly guilty of a large narrative element. Perhaps, however, it is worth while to remark that in this play the narrative element consists in two stories of the *fabliau* type. Probably no one will try to maintain that *fabliaux* are characteristic of morality-plays. To attribute this narrative characteristic to Heywood's best piece, *John*, is surely to accentuate unfairly a very minor point. The narrative part is entirely contained in three small bits of dirty story that the priest mixes into his conversation to amuse the adulterous Tyb. Moreover, such a correspondence in a minor characteristic is at best slight evidence of organic relation between morality-play and pure French farce.

6. Zu den epischen Bestandtheilen des komischen *Interludes* gehören auch die Reiseberichte im *Weatherplay* und in *The Four P's*, die auch schon in den Mysterien und Moralitäten beliebt waren. Hierin spiegelt sich eine andere Richtung der Zeit, die Freude an Entdeckungen und Reisen.<sup>2</sup>

What "Reiseberichte" may mean as a vital characteristic of Heywood's plays is not apparent. Since the writer applies this characteristic to only two plays, and without illustration, we have no basis for interpretation.

7. Eine andere Eigenthümlichkeit, die ebenfalls aus dem Nachlass der Moralitäten stammt, ist die Figur des Lustigmachers, des *Vice* der *Moralplays*. In zwei Interludes kommt diese Persönlichkeit vor, in dem

<sup>1</sup> SWOBODA, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

*Weatherplay* und dem *Loveplay*. Sie heisst zwar in jenem *Merry Report*, in diesem *Neither Lover nor Loved*, aber die Bühnenanweisungen bezeichnen ihn geradezu als *Vice*. In *The Four P's* trägt der Apotheker, in *John, the Husband* der Pantoffelheld John viele Züge des *Vice*, doch nicht mehr den Namen.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to *Love* and *Weather* this observation is emphatically correct; also the Apothecary in *Four PP* certainly has *Vice* characteristics. Nevertheless, in spite of the presence of this stray morality-play characteristic, *Love* and *Weather* are clearly *débats*, and *Four PP* is closely related to French farce. In making a *Vice* of the husband in *John*, Swoboda is surely guilty of misconception. Were this play to have a *Vice*, Tyb, the wife, were certainly the only fair candidate for the office. With her malicious and comic spirit, she, and not the henpecked and gullible husband, is the moving evil genius of the play. As a matter of fact, however, *John* has no *Vice*, since in a pure farce no character is given a moral value. In *Pardoner* and *Wit and Folly* Swoboda very properly finds no vestige of *Vice*.

8. Die Art und Weise der *Mysterien* und *Moralplays*, die Handlung mit Anreden an das Publicum zu beginnen, findet sich in dem komischen *Interlude* wieder. Sowie zum Beispiel in der Moralität *Nature* die allegorische Figur des Stolzes (*Pride*) die Zuhörerschaft vor Beginn des Stückes anspricht, oder John Bale seine *Interludes* mit chorasartigen Reden als "prolocutor" einleitet, so wird auch Heywoods *Wetterspiel* mit einer ganz ähnlichen Anrede Jupiters eröffnet.

\* \* \* \* \*

In *Play of Love* richtet der unglückliche Liebhaber seine Klagen an die Zuschauer; die Predigt des Mönches in *The Pardoner and Friar* ist an die im *banqueting room* wirklich anwesende Gesellschaft gerichtet; ihr werden auch die Reliquien gezeigt; ihr gibt der Pilgrim in *The Four P's* seinen Reisebericht, bevor noch eine andere Person auf der Bühne ist.<sup>2</sup>

In the opinion of Ward, Ebert, and others,<sup>3</sup> all these examples, except that in *Weather*, are mere monologues or dramatic soliloquies, no more addressed to the public than is any remark of an actor to himself. Even if Swoboda were right, the mere matter of prologue would probably furnish only a slight basis for vital relation between Heywood's plays and morality-plays.

<sup>1</sup> SWOBODA, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

9. Auch die Schlüsse der *Moralplays* sind in dem komischen *Interlude* wieder anzutreffen. Mit Ausnahme von zweien (P. F. und J. H.), schliessen alle mit moralisirenden Ansprachen an das Publicum.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently Swoboda openly admits that in this point his thesis is inadequate to account for *John* and *Pardoner*.

10. Einen weiteren Berührungspunkt zwischen den *Moralplays* und dem komischen *Interlude* bildet die Art und Weise, wie eine Art von poetischer Gerechtigkeit geübt wird. Die Personen der Stücke werden von der Schlechtigkeit ihrer Lebensführung und der gefährlichen Verkehrtheit ihrer Anschauungen überzeugt und am Ende zu besserer Aufführung und Reue bekehrt: die Sittlichkeit triumphirt. Ganz in derselben Weise werden im *Wetterspiel* die Bittsteller von der Unvereinbarkeit ihrer Wünsche überzeugt und schliesslich gezwungen, die Weisheit der bestehenden Weltregierung anzuerkennen. Die Liebesleute im *Loveplay* müssen nach langwierigem Streite endlich zugeben, dass wahre Glückseligkeit nur in der Liebe Gottes zu finden sei. Die *Vier P* müssen sich trotz ihrer im Stücke so weit auseinandergehenden Ansichten zum Schluss der Autorität der Kirche unterordnen. *Wit and Folly* endigt mit der Niederlage und Bekehrung James, des Verfechters des im Stücke abgehandelten paradoxen Satzes.<sup>2</sup>

Whether or not this point be important even for the plays to which it applies, Swoboda does not attempt to apply it to *John*, *Pardoner*, and *Four PP*.

11. Wie die Moralitäten, so weist auch das komische *Interlude* eine entschieden satirische Tendenz auf.<sup>3</sup>

Although we grant that several of Heywood's plays contain keen and enjoyable satire, we find no proof that this "satirische tendenz" can come only from morality-plays.

After making these eleven observations, Swoboda says:

Diese Erwägungen, glaube ich, sind hinreichend, die Innigkeit des Zusammenhanges zwischen den Moralitäten und Heywoods komischen *Interlude* zu beweisen.<sup>4</sup>

Then, with pointing out several striking verbal parallels between Heywood's work and that of Chaucer and Skelton, Swoboda closes his chapter on "Das verhältniss des komischen interludes zu literarischen vorgängern."

<sup>1</sup> SWOBODA, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.



I have sufficiently indicated my objections to the separate points involved in Swoboda's main thesis. Apparently this thesis fails to account satisfactorily or completely for a single play of John Heywood.

In conclusion, I venture to suggest a new genealogy for Heywood's six plays. In the first place, on the basis of their types, the plays fall into two groups. *Love, Weather, and Wit and Folly* follow the *débat* tradition; *John, Pardoner, and Four PP* are intimately related to French farce.

Though *Wit and Folly* is clearly an example of *débat*, the absurdly amusing nature of the discussion and the circumstances of its production at court allow it to be classified under farce, a type to which it is not essentially related. *John* and *Pardoner* are first-rate examples of French farce with extant parallels in France. Although difficult to classify, *Four PP* is most closely related to farce in spirit, and most closely related to *débat* in form.

Therefore, granting every morality-play characteristic that Swoboda has correctly attributed to Heywood's plays, I still maintain that these plays are not "legitime nachkommen der moralitäten."

In view of the conclusions reached in this article, we must assign to John Heywood a new place in the history of English drama. Although surrounded by miracle-plays, moral-plays, and Latinized plays, he produced a type of drama so distinctly his own that Collier calls it "an entire novelty."<sup>1</sup> From the English point of view, Heywood's plays<sup>2</sup> were an entire novelty, for, free from logical connection with previous English drama, they are in model and inspiration wholly foreign—they are frank adaptations or imitations of French farce. Just as in *Ralph Roister Doister* Nicholas Udall introduced Latin comedy into England, so in *Johan Johan the husbände* Heywood gave England its first pure, unattached<sup>3</sup> French farce.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup> I refer especially to *John, Pardoner, Four PP, and Wit and Folly*.

<sup>3</sup> By "unattached" I distinguish *John* from such a play as *Secunda Pastorum* of the Towneley miracle-plays, where the farce of the Mak episode is only part of a larger play and of a cycle.



Though we must grant, then, that our author attained his eminence through his sympathetic following of a French model, and though this alien inspiration may detract somewhat from his dignity as an original genius, still we must class John Heywood with Udall and the authors of *Gorboduc* as one of the most significant innovators of early English drama.

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## POE'S KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN.

WHETHER Edgar Allan Poe knew enough German to be able to read German authors in the original, or not, is not a question of momentous importance. Yet it is one of considerable interest to the student of Poe who while reading his works is haunted continually by echoes and reminiscences, more or less striking, of the German Romanticists. He cannot help speculating as to whether such similarities come directly from the study of the originals, or were unconsciously absorbed from the literary atmosphere of the period, which was surcharged with Romanticism and "Germanism." If this question could be definitely answered, it might clear up a number of knotty problems presenting themselves to the reader of Poe. Among them, that one suggested by Professor H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, some two or three years ago,<sup>1</sup> who, assuming that Poe knew no German, develops an ingenious theory of the sources of Poe's charges of plagiarism against Hawthorne.

Consequently it may be worth while—if only to satisfy a justifiable literary curiosity—to examine a little further into the question, to investigate what light a careful marshaling of all the evidence may throw upon the case, and to see what answer, if any, may be given to this problem after a thorough discussion of the evidence presented.

The general attitude of those who hold that Poe knew no German is well expressed by Professor Belden in the article referred to,<sup>2</sup> when he writes:

In what we know of Poe's life there is nothing to show that he read German, and there is much reason, in his lack of regular education and his hurried, hand-to-mouth career, to believe that he never undertook what in those days even more than now was an arduous task, the acquisition of that language. He could make effective use of a name now and then, or of an occasional phrase, but there is nothing to warrant the belief that he knew German well enough to detect the "manner" of a German book.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Anglia*, Vol. XXIII (1901), pp. 376-405.

<sup>2</sup> P. 389.

This view, generally accepted, is based upon three arguments. Of these the first, that we have no record or authoritative statement that Poe knew or studied German, is perfectly true. The other two are, however, mere assumptions. The second claim, that "there is much reason to believe that he never undertook . . . [the] arduous task, the acquisition of that language," is not warranted by what we know of the poet's natural abilities and of his studies, or of his literary interests and work. Hence it is not to be accepted without further discussion. The third argument, that Poe's occasional use of German was only for effect, was meretricious, and not based upon actual knowledge of German, is a charge which has often been made and is not without considerable foundation. There is not the slightest doubt that Poe discredited all his work by his "noxious habit" of "throwing a glamor of erudition about his work by the use of phrases from old authors he had read, or among whose treatises he had foraged with a special design," a method that "was clever," though "it partook of trickery even in its art."<sup>1</sup> But in itself this is no more an argument against his possessing a knowledge of German than against his knowledge of French or Latin, both of which languages he knew comparatively well, even though his knowledge was inexact at times.

Looking at this question entirely from a theoretical, *a priori* standpoint, the presumptions seem to favor a view just opposite to that taken by Professor Belden, who holds that "there is much reason to believe that he never undertook . . . [the] arduous task, the acquisition of that [i. e., German] language." We know from the testimony of old schoolmates and friends that Poe was an uncommonly bright, precocious boy; that in the school at Stoke-Newington in England and later in Richmond he displayed unusual talents for languages. He learned to speak French "with a marked facility."<sup>2</sup> He also was an adept in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. STEDMAN, *Edgar Allan Poe*, p. 70. Cf. also HARRISON, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, Virginia Edition (New York, 1902; hereafter cited as *Works*), Vol. XIV, p. vi. "The habit [of jotting down quotations from poets, aphorisms from philosophers, and memorabilia from men of literary generations gone by] was perhaps an intellectually noxious one, for Poe continually used the same quotations—especially the French ones—to garnish some trite context or give an air of superior learning to some insignificant critique."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JOHN H. INGRAM, *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters, and Opinions* (London, 1880),

"capping" Latin verses,<sup>1</sup> "was very fond of the Odes of Horace," which "he often repeated," and possessed besides "an unusual skill in construing Latin." He showed, even at school, an "aptitude and fondness for literary and linguistic studies." At the University of Virginia, where Poe was enrolled as a student for one year,<sup>2</sup> he was reported as among those who had excelled in French and Latin. He was also "publicly commended for a verse translation from Tasso," besides being a successful student in Spanish.<sup>3</sup>

At the university Poe enrolled himself in the School of Modern Languages, in which "are to be taught French, Spanish, Italian, German, and the English language, in its Anglo-Saxon form."<sup>4</sup> His chief instructor was Professor Blaettermann, who, according to Professor James A. Harrison,<sup>5</sup> was "an accomplished German," and whose "influence is perceptible all through Poe's humorous, imaginative work." Poe was better prepared than most of his fellow-students,<sup>6</sup> besides being more mature. He was "already writing weird tales" and "was seriously busied with poetry"<sup>7</sup> during the year at the university.

Furthermore, this year came right at the time when the English-speaking world was becoming thoroughly interested in German literature and thought, particularly of the Romantic school. The trend and spirit of German Romanticism were so fully in accord with the temperament and genius of the incipient author that it seems almost inevitable to suppose that he too would become interested in the productions of that school. Considering also that Poe's chief instructor was an accomplished native German, ready to introduce the student into the promising fields of Romanticism, it does not seem an entirely unwarranted assumption that Poe availed himself of the opportunity and studied German, either in the class-room or outside.<sup>7</sup> His course was not a "heavy" one for a student of his capacities, as there is

Vol. I, pp. 20 ff. Also *The Unveiling of the Bust of Edgar Allan Poe*, etc., compiled and edited by CHARLES W. KENT (Lynchburg, Va., 1901; cited as *Poe Memorial*), pp. 13, 14.

<sup>1</sup> "Capping" was recalling Latin verses when the first letter, or both the first and the last letter of the line, were given.

<sup>2</sup> He was at the university from January 19, 1826, till late in December of that year.

<sup>3</sup> *Poe Memorial*, p. 21. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14. <sup>5</sup> In a personal letter. <sup>6</sup> *Poe Memorial*, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> He had abundant leisure and spent considerable time in the library. *Poe Memorial*, p. 15.

a record of a classmate of his, a "hard student," Henry Tutwiler, who during that same session had not only taken, but excelled in, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, German, Spanish, and mathematics.<sup>1</sup> Hence it would not have been such a very "arduous task" for Poe to have acquired a knowledge of German, besides doing the work in those studies of which we have direct testimony.

Lack of direct testimony as to his study of German is no proof in itself. For he had sufficient knowledge of Greek, however inaccurate in detail, to discuss questions of Greek literature with considerable intelligence and a certain amount of critical acumen. Professor Kent thinks that "it may be true that he was a member of the classes in Greek . . . though there is no mention of him in connection with Greek."<sup>2</sup> What holds true of Greek may be just as true of German—nay, more true, as Poe really had better opportunities and more personal reasons for its study.

Far be it from me to belittle the difficulties of acquiring German. We must, however, always bear in mind that Poe had an unusual gift for languages, besides being mature and therefore able to do effective independent work. Furthermore, the acquisition of German was not universally considered such an "arduous task" even in those days. For only a year afterward Thomas Carlyle wrote:<sup>3</sup>

The difficulties of German are little more than a bugbear; they can only be compared to those of Greek by persons claiming praise or pudding for having mastered them. Three months of moderate diligence will carry any man, almost without assistance of a master, over its prime obstacles, and the rest is play rather than labor.

Poe was no Carlyle, but if Carlyle could surmount "the prime obstacles" in three months and find the rest "play," German could not have been an insuperable, or even an appalling, task for Poe with his natural gifts and linguistic training, supported by powers of application, which are proved beyond all question by his record as a soldier and his effective industry as an editor in the working periods of his early life.

<sup>1</sup> *Poe Memorial*, p. 14. Another student, Gessner Harrison, excelled in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, German, and medicine.

<sup>2</sup> *Poe Memorial*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Introduction to German Romance* (Edinburgh, 1827). See Vol. I, p. 315 of *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, final edition (London, 1869).

Taking, then, the actual state of affairs, as presented, into consideration, there is just as much reason to believe that Poe did acquire German, at least enough to get a reading knowledge of it, as there is for believing that he did not.

If Poe did acquire a knowledge of German there is good reason to believe that he studied the language comparatively early, for from the very beginning of his literary career there are indications that he was deeply interested in German and had some knowledge of it, however superficial. Thus in a note to the poem "Al Araaf" he quotes three lines from Goethe's "Meine Götting":<sup>1</sup>

Seltsamen Tochter Jovis,  
Seinem Schosskinde  
Der Phantasie.

In his first-published tale, *Ms. Found in a Bottle*, Poe shows an interest in German, speaking of the hero's favorite studies,<sup>2</sup> for Poe's heroes generally contain a good deal of Poe himself. There are allusions of a similar nature in *Morella*<sup>3</sup> and *Bon-Bon*,<sup>4</sup> which were all written before he began his career as an editor.

Now for the third argument of Professor Belden, based upon Poe's superficiality and shallow pretensions to extensive and profound erudition, especially in foreign languages. Not only in regard to German, but also in regard to Greek, the charge has been brought that he was "profoundly ignorant" of the language.<sup>5</sup> Yet it is probably true that he studied Greek, and, though at times inaccurate in his information, he does show an intelligent appreciation of its literature and spirit. His enemies and adverse critics have questioned his knowledge of all foreign languages, including French,<sup>6</sup> and ridiculed even his English. To what

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1829. Cf. *Works*, VII, 28. He uses this same quotation as a motto for the title-page of *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, II, 1. "Beyond all things the study of the German moralists gave me great delight," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, II, 27. There is a reference to "those mystical writings which are regularly considered the mere dross of early German literature," the study of which "in the process of time became my own." There is also a correct reference to the leading principles of the philosophers Fichte and Schelling.

<sup>4</sup> *Works*, II, 129. He speaks of *Bon-Bon* as appearing "deeply tinctured with the diablerie of his favorite German studies."

<sup>5</sup> WILLIAM F. GILL, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1877), p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> The most sweeping condemnation of Poe is contained in the charges made by ARVÈDE BARINE in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. CXLII, p. 566: "Edgar Poe, hélas! prétait aussi

extent his enemies were ready to go in their indiscriminate accusations may be seen in those hysterical charges made by Thomas Dunn English, who in that notorious controversy with Poe wrote in a public letter:<sup>1</sup>

He [Poe] professes to know every language and to be proficient in every science and art under the sun—when, except that half Choctaw, half Winnebago he habitually uses . . . he is ignorant of all. . . . His frequent quotations from languages of which he is totally ignorant and his consequent blunders expose him to ridicule.

The persistent reiteration of such charges, corroborated, as it seemed, by his first biographer, Griswold, did not fail to make an impression upon the minds of honest and impartial writers, as upon Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose mistaken impression and unintentional slander of Poe have been so cleverly shown up by Professor Henry A. Beers.<sup>2</sup>

It is high time that these indiscriminate charges should cease, that the evidence be gathered and the testimony be carefully weighed, and that then only judgment be passed.

Now, what evidence bearing upon this point can be presented from a thorough examination of Poe's works? There is, to begin with, scattered testimony proving his general knowledge of German literature and German thought. We find in his reviews and literary discussions reference to German criticism and critics,<sup>3</sup> particularly repeated references to the Schlegels.<sup>4</sup> There are

le flanc aux reproches de charlatanisme qu'il adressait à ses confrères. Il ne cédait à personne de la baie de Delaware au Mississippi, pour la science de la réclame, et, si sa probité lui interdisait les moyens déshonnêtes, sa vanité d'auteur lui conseillait les moyens ingénieux. . . . Lui aussi, il eut sa petite provision de citations en toutes langues qu'il savait et celles qu'il ne savait pas, et il les plaça et remplaça 'adroitement,' avec un mépris superbe de la prosodie, de la syntaxe et du reste." After calling attention to a number of errors in French and Greek, the writer goes on to say: "On s'avertissait entre éditeurs de se défier de la science de M. Poe:—Il fait des citations de l'allemand, mais il n'en sait pas un mot. . . . Quant à son grec, vous saurez à quoi vous en tenir pour peu que vous y mettiez le nez."

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *New York Mirror*, June 23, 1846; cf. *Works*, XVII, 238.

<sup>2</sup> HENRY A. BEERS, *A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1901), p. 163. "Colonel Higginson (*Short Studies*), à propos of Poe's sham learning and his habit of mystifying the reader by imaginary citations, confesses to having hunted in vain for this fascinatingly entitled 'Journey into the Blue Distance;' and to having been laughed at for his pains by a friend who assured him that Poe could scarcely read a word of German. But Tieck really did write this story, 'Das Alte Buch; oder Reise ins Blaue hinein,' which Poe misleadingly refers to under its alternate title."

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, XI, 5; XVI, 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Works*, VIII, 44; VIII, 47; X, 65; XI, 5, XVI, 144. Cf. also, *Works*, X, p. viii of Introduction, where the editor remarks: "His repeated quotations from August Wil-



allusions to various German poets with quotations, correct in every particular.<sup>1</sup> In his review of Longfellow's ballads<sup>2</sup> he discusses with discrimination a number of German ballads, and ventures some generalizations concerning the nature of the German ballad. He finds that Longfellow has been influenced in his way of thinking by his study of German and is "imbued with the peculiar spirit of German song," so that "he [Longfellow] thinks the inculcation of a *moral* as essential"—a perfectly true statement in respect to most German ballads. Poe is greatly interested in Fouqué, the translation of whose *Undine* he reviews with enthusiastic admiration.<sup>3</sup> He discusses and criticises the German *Kunstroman* as being a "mad—or perhaps a profound idea."<sup>4</sup> In a review he makes a hit at poor "German Greek Prosodies."<sup>5</sup> He notes in the *Marginalia* the "epidemic of history-writing" with which the "Germans are now afflicted."<sup>6</sup> In these same notes he jots down a bit of information from "an old German chronicle about Reynard the Fox,"<sup>7</sup> which he uses to illustrate some literary point. Here too he censures some assertion of Hegel's, which he cites as jargon, and as not being original with that philosopher.<sup>8</sup> He criticises an apothegm of Novalis, which he quotes.<sup>9</sup> From Novalis he quotes another apothegm in his tale *The Ragged Mountains*.<sup>10</sup> In his *Pinakidia* we find a note about "German epic poems composed in metre of sixteen and seventeen syllables,"<sup>11</sup> while in a letter he alludes to the wandering Jew, "known to German writers as Ahasuerus."<sup>12</sup> Of course, none of these allusions, nor all of them combined, afford the slightest evidence that Poe knew German at first hand. He may have, probably had, found them all in English works, magazines, translations, etc. They do, however, show accuracy in the use of names and such quotations as occur. Furthermore, they prove an intelligent, keen interest in and appreciation of German literature and thought, covering a wide range of subjects.

helm von Schlegel show the profound influence of this scholar and his brother on the plastic nature of Poe."

<sup>1</sup> Works, IX, 196. Review of *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans*.

<sup>2</sup> Works, XI, 65 f.

<sup>3</sup> Works, X, 30; XI, 89; XVI, 48.

<sup>4</sup> Works, VIII, 231.

<sup>5</sup> Works, XIV, 217.

<sup>6</sup> Works, XVI, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Works, XVI, 173.

<sup>8</sup> Works, XVI, 164.

<sup>9</sup> Works, XVI, 98.

<sup>10</sup> Works, V, 171.

<sup>11</sup> Works, XIV, 67.

<sup>12</sup> Works, XVII, 16.

Poe, as has been justly charged, was frequently guilty of the tendency of his literary contemporaries, "to garnish some trite context or give an air of superior learning to some critique" by means of a learned, or foreign, word or phrase. He most commonly employed French, as he spoke it fluently and could quote it freely. But he uses also occasional German words and phrases, introduced, however, with discrimination and with a nice appreciation of their meaning; e. g., where no single English equivalent can be found, as *Schwärmerei*<sup>1</sup> and *motivirt*,<sup>2</sup> for which equivalents do not exist even now. He speaks of his own Philistine age as a "period not inaptly denominated by the Germans 'the age of wigs'" (i. e., *Zopf- or Perückenzeit*).<sup>3</sup> In Griswold's edition of the *Literati*<sup>4</sup> his severe flagellation of Thomas Dunn Brown (English) ends with that most appropriate, scathing sentence: "In character, a *windbeutel*"—in which the German word speaks volumes.

Again, he contrives to give a sentence a clever or humorous turn by simply using a German phrase; e. g., he "made great eyes (as we say in Germany)." <sup>5</sup> In his introduction to the *Marginalia* he speaks of a mood of distraction and ennui as "what the Germans call the 'brain-scattering' humor of the moment."<sup>6</sup> In his *Marginalia* he senses a difference in meaning between *edelgeboren* and *wohlgeboren*, whether the facts inferred are correct or not.<sup>7</sup> So in the *Pinakidia* he noted the derivation of *dichtkunst* and *dichten*,<sup>8</sup> which, though it is wrong, he considers a lucky discovery, as he makes use of his note in a review of Longfellow's poems.<sup>9</sup> He also knows that "art" in German has an "extensive signification," which the English does not possess.<sup>10</sup>

Phrases are not quoted frequently. But those which are quoted are correctly quoted; e. g., he cites a couple of lines

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. XVI, p. 166. "The German *Schwärmerei*—not exactly humbug, but 'sky-rocketing'—seems to be the only term by which we can conveniently designate that peculiar style of criticism which has lately come into fashion through the influence of certain members of the *Fabian* family—people who live (upon beans) about Boston." From the context it seems clear that Poe uses the word in its proper sense—visionary, unpractical method of criticism.

<sup>2</sup> Works, Vol. VI, p. 146. "In the sense I intend it, it [perverseness] is, in fact, a *mobile* without a motive, a motive not *motivirt*."

<sup>3</sup> Works, VIII, 163.

<sup>4</sup> Works, VI, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Works, XVI, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Works, XI, 74.

<sup>7</sup> Works, XV, 270.

<sup>8</sup> Works, XVI, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Works, XIV, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Works, IX, 62.

from Schiller's "Nadowessiers Totenlied," which Poe, probably following the book before him, calls "Nadowessische Todtenklage."<sup>1</sup> Three long names of books, two by Kant<sup>2</sup> and one by Herder,<sup>3</sup> are correctly cited with their full German title. Very felicitous too is the German motto from Goethe on the title page of his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.<sup>4</sup>

Only in one case does there seem to be testimony favoring the view that Poe knew no German. But that testimony is uncertain and might be used as an argument for either view. In the tale *How to Write a Blackwood Article*,<sup>5</sup> after quoting some sample passages from French, Spanish, and Italian to be used to give an air of erudition to a magazine article, Poe quotes also the following German couplet:

Und sterb' ich doch, so sterb' ich denn  
Durch sie—durch sie!

He then goes on: "That's German from Schiller. 'And if I die, at least I die—for thee—for thee!'" Now, these lines are not from Schiller, but from Goethe, occurring in the ballad "Das Veilchen."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, they are *not* correctly quoted, as the first line runs:

Und sterb' ich denn, so sterb' ich doch.

In the third place, *durch sie* is not correctly translated by "for thee." But the very fact that Poe assigns the lines to Schiller and makes a mistake in quoting them may be taken to indicate that Poe was quoting from memory, and forgot the author as well as the exact wording of the lines. Poe's translation is not correct, but in sense it is not so far from the original, and fits his purpose better and may have been intentional. Besides the parody of the verses Poe gives in the following tale, *A Predicament*,<sup>7</sup>

Unt stubby duk, so stubby dun  
Duk she! duk she!

proves that Poe knew at least two facts about German pronunciation; namely, that a *d* final (in *und*) is pronounced like *t*, and

<sup>1</sup> Works, IX, 195 f.

<sup>2</sup> Works, II, 276.

<sup>3</sup> Works, IX, 200.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Works, II, 279.

<sup>6</sup> KÜRSCHNER, *National Litteratur*; Goethe's Works, I, 117. The ballad begins *Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand*.

<sup>7</sup> Works, II, 295.

that the German *ch* is pronounced more like *k* than *ch* in "church," which pronunciations a person utterly ignorant of German would naturally give.

The varied cumulative evidence so far adduced seems to prove this much at least, that Poe was not entirely ignorant of German, that he must have had enough of a smattering knowledge to copy German, cite books, and quote words and phrases correctly when he so desired.

But there is positive evidence bearing upon the question under discussion—evidence which in the case of any other author would be absolutely convincing, and, even with Poe's dubious reputation in the matter of literary and scientific honesty, seems all but conclusive.

The first case in point is to be found in the tale *The Premature Burial*,<sup>1</sup> where Poe gives the details of a case of premature burial, taken, as he informs us, from a recent number of "The Chirurgical Journal of Leipsic"<sup>2</sup>—"a periodical," he goes on to say, "of high authority and merit, which some American bookseller would do well to translate and republish." While it is not impossible that Poe had hit upon the case cited in some journal in English, or that some friend might have read it and told him of it, yet the tone and whole setting of the incident seem to indicate that Poe had read the case himself and had consulted the "Chirurgical Journal" at other times for abnormal medical cases. There seems to be no special reason for Poe's wishing to display pretended erudition in this connection, as he might have reasons for doing in a learned book review.

The next case seems to furnish direct and positive evidence. It is a passage of German prefaced to the *The Mystery of Marie Roget*,<sup>3</sup> containing forty-five words, correctly quoted with exception of an evident typographical error. Poe adds a translation. There was at that time no complete translation of Novalis's works,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, V, 259.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Deutsche Zeitschrift für die Chirurgie*, which dates back to the early thirties of the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, V, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> At least no such book could be found in the catalogues of the British Museum and the leading American libraries. This is also confirmed by the statement of MRS. AUSTIN, in the book cited below, p. 314.

and only one book, as far as could be ascertained, contained the translation of that particular passage.<sup>1</sup> This book Poe had probably seen, as it contains also the quotations from Novalis, mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> This passage, taken from Novalis's *Moralische Ansichten*<sup>3</sup> runs:

Es giebt eine Reihe idealischer Begebenheiten, die der Wirklichkeit parallel läuft. Selten fallen sie zusammen. Menschen und Zufälle modificiren gewöhnlich<sup>4</sup> die idealische Begebenheit, so dass sie unvollkommen erscheint, und ihre Folgen gleichfalls unvollkommen sind. So bei der Reformation.<sup>5</sup> Statt des Protestantismus kam das Lutherthum hervor.

The passage is translated by Mrs. Austin and Poe as follows:

## MRS. AUSTIN.

There are ideal *trains* of events which run parallel with the real ones. *Seldom* do they coincide. Men and accidents commonly modify *every* ideal event, so that it *appears* imperfect, and its consequences are equally imperfect. Thus it was with the Reformation—instead of Protestantism *arose* Lutheranism

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## POE.

There are ideal *series* of events which run parallel with the real ones. They *rarely* coincide. Men and *circumstances* generally modify the ideal train of events so that it *seems* imperfect, and its consequences are equally imperfect. Thus with the Reformation; instead of Protestantism *came* Lutheranism.

Comparing the two translations, in which divergencies are indicated by italics, it will be seen that they differ chiefly in choice of words. They both follow the German closely. Poe is closer in line 5, where Mrs. Austin translates *die* by "every;" in line 8, where Mrs. Austin inserts "it was;" in the slight matter of the semicolon in line 7, and the literal translation of *kam* in line 9, where Poe, however, disregards *hervor*. Mrs. Austin, on the other hand, translates *Begebenheit*, line 5, and *Zufälle*, line 4, more exactly.<sup>6</sup> The differences, after all, are unimportant, and

<sup>1</sup> *Fragments from German Prose Writers*, translated by SARAH AUSTIN (London, 1841).

<sup>2</sup> Poe had also reviewed earlier a translation by the same author of VON RAUMER'S *England in 1835* (*Works*, IX, 55).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Novalis' Schriften*, edited by TIECK AND SCHLEGEL, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1837), II, 274.

<sup>4</sup> In Poe this word is spelled *gewöhnlich*, unmistakably a misprint.

<sup>5</sup> Poe has a colon instead of a period.

<sup>6</sup> In order to obtain some idea of how this passage would be translated by those able to read ordinary German, it was set as a sight passage for a class in third-year German. As a whole, the papers of the better students were as similar as the above, and, besides that, every one of Poe's peculiar translations was duplicated in some one paper. Thus *Zufälle* was translated "circumstances" by at least a third of the class.

determined apparently rather by reasons of taste and style than by the demands of the sense. In short, the translations are such as would be made by two persons independently of each other, both of whom understood the German accurately, but were not obliged to translate it word for word with aid of a dictionary.

There could be no doubt at all about the conclusiveness of this evidence, if there were no doubts about Poe's literary and scientific methods. But, unfortunately, his methods are not above criticism,<sup>1</sup> and he has laid himself open to the charges of literary charlatanism which he has made against others. And so some might see in the two translations suggestions of the method employed in Poe's compilation of *The Conchologist's First Book*, i. e., a deliberate attempt to cover plagiarism by slight changes in Mrs. Austin's translation, not important enough to change the sense, but yet sufficient to give to the whole an appearance of originality. For example, in the first line both translations make *idealischer* agree with the wrong noun. Again in line 7 both translate *gleichfalls* by "equally," which is neither the natural nor the exact translation. Furthermore, the use of "train of events" by Poe in line 5, though he uses "series of events" in line 1 where Mrs. Austin uses "train of events," might seem to point to the same method.

But, in considering these doubts, we must remember that, in the very first place, Poe had somehow to find the original passage in Novalis, as he quotes the German for it. For Mrs. Austin gives not the slightest hint as to where the passage is to be found. If now, we deny Poe's ability to read German, we must assume that he asked some friend to hunt out the passage for him. In addition, since Poe's translation shows some independence and yet is fairly accurate, we must assume that he had this friend translate or explain the passage to him, and that then he worked over Mrs. Austin's translation into this pretendedly independent version.

Now why should Poe have gone to all this trouble and have committed this deliberate deception for the mere motto to a tale? Particularly when this motto is so inessential to the plot and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what PROFESSOR WOODBERRY has to say about POE's compilation of *The Conchologist's First Book* (: or a system of Testaceous Malacology . . . By EDGAR A. POE. Philadelphia, 1839), in his *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), pp. 100 f.

contributes so little to the atmosphere of the whole? And when he could have produced practically the same impression of erudition by simply quoting the passage in English, assigning it to Novalis and concealing its real source? If he had run across the German in his reading of Novalis and had jotted it down, it is easy to see why he should be tempted to cite the German as well as the English version. But these other assumptions are entirely unwarranted by the circumstances.

Then there seems to be some warrant for supposing that Poe was an admirer of Novalis and acquainted with his work, if we may trust the opinion of Professor Harrison, his latest biographer and editor, in which Professor Woodberry seems to a certain extent to concur. The former calls Novalis one of "Poe's masters across the German sea,"<sup>1</sup> and the latter speaks of the treatise "*Eureka*"—of which a germ appears in a single phrase of Novalis.<sup>2</sup> As there was no complete translation of Novalis at the time, and the fragments translated by Mrs. Austin cover just seven small pages, while those in the few contemporaneous English essays contain hardly much more, it seems most reasonable to hold that Poe knew Novalis in the original, and that he translated the passage under discussion independently, even though his attention may have been distinctly called to it by the passage in Mrs. Austin's *Fragments*.

Fortunately, there is another German selection which Poe quotes in the original as a note to the translation occurring in the text of his *Eureka*. The passage is longer, seventy-six words, and much more difficult, taken from the first volume of Humboldt's *Kosmos*.<sup>3</sup> There were only two English translations of this volume antedating Poe's *Eureka*<sup>4</sup>—one by Prichard (London, 1845), the other done by Lieutenant-Colonel Sabine (London, 1847). The original selection, which Poe quotes letter-perfect, runs:

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, I, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN and GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY, *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (Chicago, 1894), Vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, *Kosmos* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1845), Vol. I, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> At least no others are to be found in the catalogues of the British Museum and the leading libraries of this country.



Betrachtet man die nicht perspectivischen *eigenen* Bewegungen der Sterne, so scheinen viele Gruppenweise in ihrer Richtung entgegengesetzt; und die bisher gesammelten Thatsachen machen es auf's wenigste nicht nothwendig, anzunehmen, dass alle Theile unsrer Sternenschicht oder gar der gesammelten Sterneneinseln, welche den Weltraum füllen, sich um einen grossen, unbekannten, leuchtenden oder dunkeln Centralkörper bewegen. Das Streben nach den letzten und höchsten Grundursachen macht freilich die reflectirende Thätigkeit des Menschen, wie seine Phantasie, zu einer solchen Annahme geneigt.

This has been translated as follows:<sup>1</sup>

PRICHARD (КОЗМОЗ, I, 154).

If the non-perspective proper motions of the stars be considered, many of them appear groupwise opposed in their directions; and the data hitherto collected make it at least not necessary to suppose that all parts of our astral system, or the whole of the star-islands which fill the universe, are in motion about any great, unknown, luminous, or non-luminous central mass. The longing to reach the last or highest fundamental cause, indeed, renders the reflecting faculty of man as well as his fancy disposed to adopt such a proposition.

POE (Works, XVI, 299).

When we regard the real, proper, or non perspective motions of the stars, we find *many groups of them moving in opposite directions*; and the data as yet in hand render it not necessary, at least, to conceive that the systems composing the Milky Way, or the clusters, generally, composing the Universe, are revolving about any particular

SABINE (Cosmos, I, 135).

If we consider the proper motions of the stars, as contradistinguished from their apparent or perspective motions, their directions are various; it is not, therefore, a necessary conclusion, either that all parts of our astral system, or that all the systems which fill universal space, revolve around one great undiscovered luminous or non luminous central-body, however naturally we may be disposed to an inference which would gratify alike the imaginative faculty, and that intellectual activity which ever seeks after the last and highest generalisation.

OTTÉ (Cosmos, I, 136).

If we consider the proper, and not the perspective motions of the stars, we shall find many that appear to be distributed in groups having an opposite direction; and facts hitherto observed, do not at any rate render it a necessary assumption, that all parts of our starry stratum, or the whole of the stellar islands filling space, should

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of still further comparison the translation of this passage by E. C. OTTÉ, *Cosmos*, "Bohn's Scientific Series" (London, 1849), is appended.

centre unknown, whether luminous or non-luminous. It is but Man's longing for a fundamental First Cause, that impels both his intellect and fancy to the adoption of such a hypothesis.

move round one large unknown luminous or non-luminous central-body. The tendency of the human mind to investigate ultimate and highest causes, certainly inclines the intellectual activity, no less than the imagination of mankind, to adopt such a hypothesis.

A comparison of the four translations demonstrates that Poe's translation is surely as independent and original as the other three. While less literal than Prichard's, as a whole it is closer to the original than Sabine's and has more literary quality than all three. It is a free translation, but gives the full sense of the German, except possibly that part (in lines 7 to 9) beginning "the systems," etc., to "the Universe." However, the inexactness of the translation here does no violence to the general sense, and in no way affects the point in which Poe is interested. Nor is the translation a dictionary word-for-word translation, or Poe would not, e. g., have mistranslated *Sternenschicht* as "Milky May," or interpolated "real" in the first line or "particular" in line 10. On the whole, Poe's version might be called a faithful rendering of the substance and form of the original, such as would be made by one thoroughly understanding the German original, and, hence, feeling himself free to make changes not essential to the sense for the sake of a good literary English translation.

Of course it might be assumed in this case too that Poe secured somebody to hunt up the original passage in the German text—somewhat of a task, as the German volume has no index—and to translate it for him. But if we stand ready to accept assumption in place of argument, we may as well stop discussing literary questions seriously and adopt once for all as the guiding principles of literary investigation the methods of the Shakspeare-Baconian school.

Here we must rest the case. The evidence presented has shown that Poe had an unusual natural capacity for languages; that he had abundant and favorable opportunity for studying German, which was one of the course of studies elected by him

at the university; that, furthermore, his chief professor was a native German. It is well known and universally acknowledged that Poe's innate bent and native genius were more in sympathy with German Romanticism than with the tenets of any other literary school. His personal interest in German thought and literature has been abundantly shown in his criticisms. And we know that his contemporaries were equally interested in these subjects, so that a knowledge of German seems a *sine qua non* for a literary critic of that period. We have noted his careful and discriminating use of single German words, and the appropriateness and correctness of the German phrases which he occasionally cites. Finally, we have found two German passages, quoted accurately, which, as far as can be judged by any evidence at hand, he translated independently and correctly, with no indications either of painful word-for-word translation or of careless guessing. All this cumulative evidence ought, in my opinion, to establish beyond reasonable doubt the presumption that Poe knew German at first hand, and must have known enough to read easy prose and, where necessary, to translate difficult prose with exactness and facility. If the evidence does not seem convincing to any who have held the opposite view, it devolves upon them to establish their standpoint. For upon them the burden of proof now rests.

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## EMENDATIONS IN OLD ENGLISH POEMS.

### I.

#### *Gifts of Men*, 1:

*Fela bið on foldan forðgesynra  
geongra geofona, þa þa gæstberend  
wegað in gewitte, swa her weoruda God,  
Meotud meahtum swið monnum dæled,  
syled sundorgiefe.*

*geongra geofona* has hitherto passed unchallenged in this passage as well as in *Phoen.*, 624 (*geongra gyfena*) and *Guðl.*, 1015 (*gingra geafena*), though the customary translations "young," "early," "new," "recent" are quite lame and inappropriate. Cosijn's attempt (*Beitr.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 119) to improve the meaning of *geong* by comparing it to O.H.G. *iucundlîh* = "jucundis" (Graff, Vol. I, p. 608) is by no means above suspicion. But the true reading, I have no doubt, in all three cases, is *ginra*. *ginra* > *gingra* > *geongra* is a self-explanatory series. It may just be added that *ginne*, a word unknown in prose and rare even in poetry,<sup>1</sup> was particularly liable to be misapprehended by scribes, as appears also from *Beow.*, 466: *gimme rice*.

*gimfæste gife* is a favorite formula (*gimfæste gife ðe him God sealde*, *Beow.*, 1271; *ibid.*, 2182; *Gen.*, 2919; *Jul.*, 168; *Met. Boeth.*, 20, 227; cf. *Exod.*, 524), of which *ginra geofona* is merely a metrical variant. A similar phrase is found in the discourse on the manifold gifts of God (cf. I. Cor., 12) in *Crist*, 659 ff. (see Cook's note):

*ðus God meahtig geofum unhneawum,  
Cyning alwihta cræftum weorðap  
eorþan tuddor* (686-88).

See further *Panther*, 69 ff.:

*Swa se snottra gecwæð Sanctus Paulus:  
"Monigfealde sind geond middangeard*

<sup>1</sup> It is to be compared with the highly archaic *cormen*.—It occurs to me that in *Exod.*, 430: *þens geomre lyft* (COSIJN: *cormenlyft*), *ginne* would make an acceptable reading (*eo* does not alliterate with *g* in *Exod.*; see HOLTHAUSEN, *Literaturbl.*, Vol. XXI, p. 62).

god ungnýðe, þe us to giefæ dæles  
and to feorhnere fæder ælmihtig . . . "

## II.

*Moods of Men, 10:*

se þe hine læted on þas lænan tid  
amyrran his gemyndum modes gælsan  
and on his dægrime dru[n]cen to rice.

In place of Grein's improbable *tō rice*, "zu mächtig," I suggest *to ricene*, "too quickly," "too readily," which is admirably suited to the thought of the following lines and also makes a fine parallel to *Wand.*, 112:

ne sceal næfre his torn to rycene  
beorn of his breostum acyþan.

## III.

*Whale, 69:*

þam þe leaslice lices wyne  
ofer ferhtgereiht fremedon on unræd.

The older explanations of *ofer ferhtgereiht*, "over the soul's direction" (Thorpe, Ettmüller(?), apparently also Grein in the *Sprachschatz*), "über die furcht hinaus gelenkt" (Grein in *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*) leave too much room for doubt. Might it not be an expression analogous to (*þæt he Wealdende*) *ofer ealde riht* (. . . *bitre gebulge*), *Beow.*, 2330? If so, I propose *ofer ferhte reht*, "contrary to just law." Cf. *he ferhtlic riht folcum demed*, *Par. Ps.*, 95, 10.

The change of *fremedon* to *fremede* (Ettmüller, Grein, Assmann) is not necessary. But the second *on* may possibly owe its existence to a scribal blunder.

## IV.

*Harrowing of Hell, 70:*

Ic adreag fela,  
sipþan þu end to me in sipadest.

Previous efforts to clear up *end* have been attended with scant success. Grein, who prints *end*, has no other explanation to offer than a fanciful reference to German *eh(e)nder*. Kirkland (pp. 36, 44) seems to follow him. Sievers (*Beitr.*, Vol. IX, p. 263) iden-

tifies *end* with Gothic *andis*, and in his *Grammar* (§ 323) admits an adverb "*end frāher*(?);" but the meaning of *andizuh* (. . . *aipþau*) = ἡ γὰρ (. . . ἡ, *Luke*, 16, 13) is indeed widely removed from "*prius*." *end* still figures in Cramer's and Assmann's editions; but it has been duly condemned by Cosijn (*Beitr.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 127) and Holthausen (*Anglia-Beiblatt*, Vol. IX, p. 357).

Thorpe's suggestion in only serves to emphasize the difficulty.

I propose to read *æne*, "once," calling attention at the same time to *Crist*, 329: *æne on þas eorðan ut siðade*, and *Disc. of Soul*, 55: *syððan ic ana of þe ut siðode*.

Another satisfactory reading, so far as the sense is concerned, would be *siþþan* . . . *ærest* (as in *Beow.*, 6, 1947; *Gen.*, 2775, etc.), and if we are bold enough to substitute the form *æst* (as in *Oros.*, 112, 22; 124, 8; 130, 21; 174, 2; 182, 18; see also *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVIII, p. 244), the metrical structure would remain absolutely unchanged. But how the scribe chanced upon *end* would not be quite easy to tell.

## V.

*Juliana*, 605:

*hine se cwealm ne þeah.*

Read *him*, as the construction with accusative is incredible. So *Sat.*, 576: *him seo dæd ne geþeah*; *Beow.*, 3058 f. We find that Toller quotes the above passage, adding after *hine* (*him*?). *hine* is kept in all editions and in Simons's Glossary.

## VI.

*Guðlac*, 186:

*Stod seo dyggle stow Dryhtne in gemyndum  
idel and æmen eþelrichte feor,  
bað biwæce betran hyrdes.*

For *biwæce*, which has been doubtfully provided with the conjectural sense of "visit," "coming," *bisæte* may be hazarded: "awaited a better keeper's taking possession of it." The objection that *bisæt* (f.) is an οὐδέποτε λεγόμενον should not be considered fatal, especially in view of (*agan and*) *besittan* = "possidere"

(*Bede*, 96, 20), *gesittan* = "possidere," and the compounds of *-sætan* (*sæte*) "residents."<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

*Riddle*, 4, 28:

*þær bið ceole wen  
slipre sæcce, gif hine sæ byrð  
on þa grimman tid gæsta fulne,  
þæt he scyle rice birofen weorpan,  
feore bifohten fæmig ridan  
yþa hrycgum.*

To dispose of the two difficulties: *rice*, and *feore bifohten*, I conjecture (1) *rince* (cf. *hereri[n]*c, *Beow.*, 1176; *swe[n]*cfe, *ibid.*, 1510; *dru[n]*cen, *Mood.*, 12, etc.), to be taken in a collective sense; and (2) *fere bifohten*, i. e., "attacked by danger," since, on the strength of *unbefohten*, "unopposed," "unattacked" (*Byrhtn.*, 57; *OE. Chron.*, A. D. 911), the verb *befeohtan* is plausibly to be credited with the meaning of "attack."

In case we interpret, with Grein and Sweet, *befeohtan* as "deprive of by fighting," *feore bifohten*, "deprived of life," referring to *rince*, would not be an impossible reading.

## VIII.

*Riddle*, 34, 5:

*wæs hio hete grim hilde to sæne,  
biter beadoweorca.*

A much-doctored passage—see Thorpe, Ettmüller, Grein, Herzfeld, Assmann. *hilde to sæne* looks at first sight genuine (cf. *Doomsday*, 88; *And.*, 204, etc.), but the context seems to demand exactly the opposite of it. A radical cure might be effected by the substitution of *on wene*: *wæs hio hete grim, hilde on wene*. Supposing the scribe found in his original the form *wæne* (cf. *wænessum*, *Bede*, 82, 11; *wæpendre*, *ibid.*, 44, 24; *fædnis*, *ibid.*, 88, 6, etc.; Brown, *Die Sprache der Rushworth Glossen*, Vol. I, § 54; etc.), and confused *s* and *w* (as could easily happen, e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> *Guðl.*, 1051: *edleanan georn*. Why does ASSMANN refuse to embody in his text the obvious correction *edleana*, which GREIN (*Sprachechatz*, see also footnote in his edition) had adopted some forty years ago? Also GOLLANCZ sticks to *edleanan*.

*Guðl.*, 1172: *þa he ædre onæneow | frean feorhgedal, þæt hit feor ne wæs, | endedogor*. We need not hesitate to remove the comma after *wæs*. Cf. 1139, *nis nu swiþe feor | þam gtemestan endedogor*. For the dat.-instrum. *dogor* see SIEVERS, *Beitr.*, Vol. X, p. 233; *Grammar*, § 239.



*sel: wel*), this erroneous *sæne* would tempt him to change *on* to *to*. *on wenum* with preceding genitive is a rather common phrase; see Grein. I confess that the allusions of the following two lines are not quite clear to me (Dietrich's articles are out of reach). The suprising use of (*heterune*) *bond* instead of *onbond* (*Beow.*, 501) has been noticed by Cosijn.

As to the scansion of l. 5a, see Herzfeld, p. 50.

## IX.

Riddle, 49, 1:

*Ic gefrægn fer hælepum hring [ær]endean (Gr.-Assm.),  
 torhtne butan tungan tila [reordian] (Gr.-Assm.),  
 þeah he hlude stefne ne cirnde, strongum wordum.*

The corrections to be advocated amount to an emendation of the emended text and, practically, a restoration of the MS version with proper division of the lines. L. 1b should read: *hring ændean* (or *endean*) (a normal verse of the D-type), *ændean* being = *ærndean* = *ærendian* (*erendian*). The form (*ge*)*ærndian*, it seems, was not infrequently used; cf., e. g., *Ine Laws*, 33 (H); *Bede*, 420, 22 (Ca); *Wulfst.*, 20, 19; and the suppression of the *r* may be regarded as a natural process (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVIII, p. 244). Though no sure instance of *ændian* has come to light, it is worth while to put the question whether it might not possibly be traced in *Nine Herbs Charm*, 24: *gemyne þu, Mægðe, hwæt þu ameldodest, | hwæt ðu geændadest æt Alorforda*.

The improved version of l. 2b is: *tila þeah he hlude*—a verse similar in structure to 44, 9b; 55, 9b. Thus, at the same time, l. 3 is happily relieved.

## X.

Riddle, 54, 10:

*Oft hy an yst strudon  
 hord ætgædre.*

In preference to former explanations and emendations (Thorpe, Dietrich, Grein), I venture to read: *oft hy anys (anes) strudon | hord ætgædre*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Riddle, 44, 9: *care, gif se eane | his hlaforde hyrð yfle, | frean on fore, ne wile forht wean | broþor oþrum*. GREIN's explanation of this *forht* as "terribilis" in the *Sprachschatz*

## XI.

*Fata Ap.*, 47:

*forþan he ða hæðengild hyran ne wolde,  
wig weorðian.*

Why not *herian*? (*herian* > *heran* > *hyran*). Cf. *Beow.*, 180: *metod hie ne cuþon | . . . ne hie huru heofena helm herian ne cuþon*; *ibid.*, 175: *hwilum hie geheton æt hærgtrafum | wig-weorþunga*.

By the way, was not Grein's old conjecture (1857) in *Dan.*, 207: *þæt* (rather *þa*) *þis* [*hæðengyld*] *he[r]gan ne willað, | ne þysne wig wurðigean*, though rejected by himself (1864) and later critics (Graz, Cosijn), right after all?

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(so Thorpe, Toller), and his translation "und der Bruder dem andern nicht will unterthänig sein," are open to doubt. It will be better to take *broþor oþrum* as parallel to *esne his hlaforde* and interpret—*ne wile forht wesan*—as a parenthetical clause, "will not live in fear"—a thought well illustrated by the *Discourse of the Soul to the Body*.

# GASCOIGNE'S JOCASTA A TRANSLATION FROM THE ITALIAN.

SINCE Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, gave a detailed comparison of Gascoigne's *Jocasta* with Euripides's *Phœnissæ*, it has become customary to look upon Gascoigne's play as a translation, or rather adaptation, from the Greek. This was justly contradicted by Morley and Schelling,<sup>1</sup> who referred to Dolce's *Giocasta* as an immediate source. They certainly are right, as can be easily proved. But the old mistake will not disappear from our handbooks of English literature. To mention only two instances, I refer to the new edition of Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, Vol. I (1903), p. 247, where we read "*Jocasta* based on the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides," and to Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 169, where, even in the second edition of 1904, *Jocasta* is called "an adaptation of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides."<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances it is perhaps worth while to compare the *Dramatis Personæ* and the beginnings of the English, Italian, and Greek dramas with each other and thus to prove by mere juxtaposition that Gascoigne's *Jocasta* (1566) is not an adaptation from Euripides, but a mere literal translation from Lodovico Dolce's *Giocasta* (Venezia, 1541).

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

GASCOIGNE.	DOLCE.	EURIPIDES.
Jocasta . . . .	Giocasta	Ἰοκάστη
Seruus, a noble man of the Queenes traine	Seruo	—
Bailo, gouvernour to the Queenes sonnes	Bailo	Παιδαγωγός
Antygone . . . .	Antigone	Ἀντιγόνη
Chorus, foure Thebane dames	Choro di donne Thebane	Χóρος Φοινισσῶν γυναικῶν
Pollynices . . . .	Polinice	Πολυνείκης

<sup>1</sup> First of all by J. A. SYMONDS. See his *Shakspeare's Predecessors* (London, 1884), p. 221. [Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also COURTHOPE, *loc. cit.*, p. 168: "Gascoigne . . . adapted a tragedy from the Greek."

GASCOIGNE.	DOLCE.	EURIPIDES.
Eteocles . . . .	Eteocle	Ἐτεοκλῆς
Creon . . . .	Creonte	Κρέων
Meneceus . . . .	Meneceo	Μενουκείας
Tyresias . . . .	Tiresia	Τειρεσίας
<i>Manto</i> , the daughter of Tyresias	<i>Manto</i>	—
<i>Sacerdos</i> , the sacrificing priest	<i>Sacerdote</i>	—
Nuntij, three messangers from the campe	Un' altro Nuntio	*Ἄγγελος
Œdipus . . . .	Edippo	*Ἐπερος ἄγγελος
The Tragedie presented as it were in Thebes	La fauola è rap- resentata in Thebe	Οἰδίππου

GASCOIGNE, *Jocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 33-53.

*Iocasta*: Thou knowst what care my carefull father tooke  
In wedlockes sacred state to settle me  
With Laius, king of this unhappie Thebes  
That most unhappie now our Citie is.  
Thou knowst how he, desirous still to searche  
The hidden secrets of supernall powers,  
Vnto Diuines did make his ofte recourse,  
Of them to learne when he should haue a sonne  
That in his Realme might after him succede:  
Of whom receiuing answer sharpe and sowre,  
That his owne sonne should worke his wailfull ende,  
The wretched king (though all in vayne) did seeke  
For to eschew that could not be eschewed;  
And so, forgetting lawes of natures loue,  
No sooner had this paynfull wombe brought forth  
His eldest sonne to this desired light,  
But straight he charged a trustie man of his  
To beare the childe into a desert wood,  
And leaue it there for Tigers to deuoure.

*Seruus*: O lucklesse babe, begot in wofull houre!

*Iocasta*: His seruant, thus obedient to his hest, . . . .

L. DOLCE, *Giocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 30-50.<sup>1</sup>

*Giocasta*: Tu sai, quanta uaghezza hebbe mio padre  
Di legarmi con nodo di mogliera  
A Laio Re de l'infelice Thebe:

<sup>1</sup>"Giocasta. | Tragedia di | M. Lodovico | Dolce | [vignette of Aldi filii] | In Vinigia,  
M.D.XLIX."

Ch' infelice ben è la città nostra  
 Et sai, sì come il mio nouello sposo  
 Bramoso di saper quel ch' era occulto,  
 Ricorse a gli indouini; e intender uolse,  
 Quando di me nascesse alcun figliuolo,  
 Qual di lui fosse la futura forte.  
 Onde hauendo risposta amara & aspra,  
 Che dal proprio figliuol sarebbe ucciso,  
 Cercò il misero Re (ma cercò in uano)  
 Di fuggir quel, che non potea fuggirsi.  
 Quinci sbandita ogni pietà natia,  
 Poi, che 'l peso meschin di questo uentre  
 Ne la luce mortal aperse gli occhi;  
 Commisse a un seruo suo piu d' altri fido,  
 Che lo portasse entro una selua oscura,  
 Et lasciasse il figliuol cibo a le Fere.

*Seruo*: Infelice bambin nato in mal punto.

*Jocasta*: Il seruo insieme obediente & pio . . .

EURIPIDES, *Phœnissæ*, ll. 12-25.

Ἰοκάστη (alone): Καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με—τοῦτο γὰρ πατὴρ  
 ἔθετο—γαμῆ δὲ Λαῖός μ'· ἐπεὶ δ' ἄπαις  
 ἦν χρόνια λίκτρα τὰμ' ἔχων ἐν δώμασιν,  
 ἐλθὼν ἔρωτᾷ Φοῖβον, ἑξαιτεῖ θ' ἄμα  
 παῖδων ἐς οἶκον ἀρσένων κοινωνίαν.  
 ὁ δ' εἶπεν· ὦ Θήβαισιν εὐίπποις ἄναξ,  
 μὴ σπεῖρε τέκνων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βία.  
 εἰ γὰρ τεκνώσεις παῖδ', ἀποκτενεῖ σ' ὁ φύς,  
 καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.  
 ὁ δ' ἤδονῃ δοὺς ἔς τε βακχείον πεσὼν  
 ἔσπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα, καὶ στείρας τάλας  
 γνοὺς τ' ἀμπλάκημα τοῦ θεοῦ τε τὴν φάτιν  
 λειμῶν' ἐς Ἑρας καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος λίπας  
 δίδωσι βονκόλοισιν ἐκθέιναι βρέφος.

Perhaps still more convincing is the following beginning of the first scene, where we have nothing in the Greek play to compare at all:

Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 1-19.

*Jocasta*: O Faithful seruant of mine auncient sire,  
 Though vnto thee sufficiently be knowne  
 The whole discourse of my recurelesse grieffe,  
 By seeing me from Princes royall state  
 Thus basely brought into so great contempt,

As mine own sonnes repine to heare my plaint,  
 Now of a Queene but barely bearing name,  
 Seyng this towne, seing my fleshe and bloude,  
 Against it selfe to leuie threatening armes,  
 (Whereof to talke my heart it rendes in twaine)  
 Yet once againe I must to thee recompte  
 The wailefull thing that is already spred,  
 Bicause I know that pitie will compell  
 Thy tender hart more than my naturall childe  
 With ruthfull teares to mone my mourning case.  
*Seruus:* My gracious Queene, as no man might surmount  
 The constant faith I beare my souraine Lorde,  
 So doe I thinke, for loue and trustie zeale,  
 No Sonne you haue doth owe you more than I.

L. DOLCE, *Giocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 1-18.

*Giocasta:* Caro gia del mio padre antico seruo,  
 Benche nota ti sia l' historia a pieno  
 D' i miei graui dolor, d' i miei martiri:  
 Pur da l' alto et Real stato di prima  
 Veggendomi condotta a tal bassezza,  
 Che 'l mio propio figliuol sdegna ascoltarmi;  
 Ne tengo di Reina altro, che 'l nome;  
 Et ueggo la cittade e 'l sangue mio  
 L' arme pigliar contra 'l suo stesso sangue;  
 Perche si sfoga ragionando il core,  
 T ti uo raccontar quel ch' è palese:  
 Però ch' io sò, che de le pene mie,  
 Pietà souente a lagrimar ti moue,  
 Et piu che i figli miei ne senti affanno.

*Seruo:* Reina, come me non uinse alcuno  
 In seruir fedelmente il mio signore:  
 Così i credo, che alcuno in amar uoi  
 De' figli uostri non mi passa auanti.

Lodovico Dolce seems to have been well known to the Elizabethans. Thomas Lodge, too, introduced several "sonnets, written in imitation of Dolce the Italian," into his *Margarite of America*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "A Magarite of | America | By T. Lodge | Printed for John Busbie, and are to be | sold  
 in S. Dunstons [sic!] church-yard in | Fleet-street, at the little shop | next Cliffords Inne.  
 1596."

